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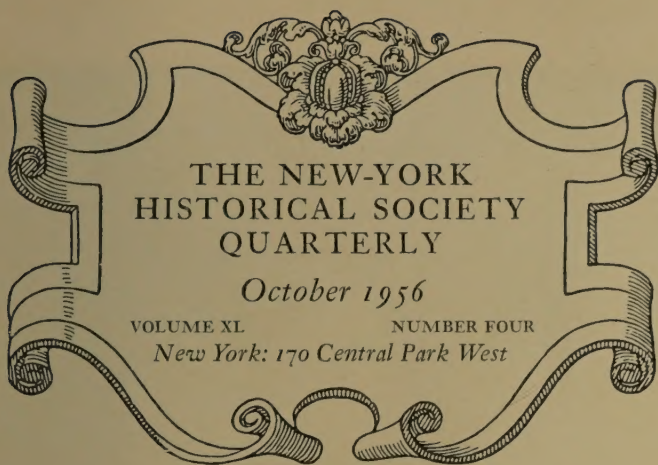
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GENERAL JOHN BURGoyNE, by Allan Ramsay, Rome, 1750

Gift of Major William N. Seymour, September 1956

The portrait descended as follows: from General John Burgoyne (1722/3-1792) to his son Field Marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne (1782-1871); to his daughter Miss Burgoyne; to her sister Caroline (b. 1829), wife of Maj. George Stopford; to her daughter Kate (b. 1856), wife of W. Morton Philips, Esq.; to her eldest grandchild (whose mother Mary Philips, b. 1884, married Col. C. H. N. Seymour), Major William N. Seymour, who came from England to present it to the Society in person.



OUR PORTRAIT OF GENERAL BURGoyNE

GENERAL John Burgoyne, professional soldier, M.P., dramatist and man-about-town, is most famous for having surrendered his British army to General Horatio Gates on the field of Saratoga on October 17, 1777, the turning point of the Revolution. During a visit to Rome in 1750 with his wife and the Duke and Duchess of Choiseul, he had his portrait painted by the distinguished Scottish artist Allan Ramsay (1713-1784), later the official portrait painter at the court of George III.¹ This splendid portrait, painted when Burgoyne was twenty-eight years old, was presented to The New-York Historical Society in September 1956 by a direct descendant of the General, Major William N. Seymour of Crichel, Wimborne, England. On the occasion of the presentation, the Society opened a small exhibit devoted to the career of General Burgoyne, including the original articles of surrender at Saratoga, bearing his signature.

¹ Edward Barrington De Fonblanque, *Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century, Derived from the Life and Correspondence of The Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, Dramatist* (London: 1876), p. 9 and frontispiece reproducing this portrait; F. J. Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne: Misadventures of an English General in the Revolution* (Indianapolis: 1927), p. 7 and frontispiece reproducing this portrait from Fonblanque; John Fleming, "Allan Ramsay and Robert Adam in Italy," *Connoisseur*, April 1956, p. 82, with this portrait reproduced from Fonblanque. See also caption opposite.



MRS. CLEMENT C. MOORE (1794-1834)

Née Catharine Elizabeth Taylor, married 1813

Portrait attributed to Thomas Sully

Owned by Mrs. William Scoville Moore

CLEMENT C. MOORE'S COURTSHIP OF HIS "LAUGHTER LOVING BELLE"

by R. W. G. VAIL

WHEN WE published part of Clement C. Moore's poem in praise of his "laughter loving belle,"¹ we did not know that other letters had been preserved which would help fill in the story of his courtship. These have now been discovered and presented to us, as were the others, by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Richard C. Hunt. There are three letters from Moore and one from his bride-to-be as well as another which he wrote many years later from Saratoga Springs, August 14, 1830, all of them addressed to his mother in New York. We are sharing them with you not only because they help round out the picture of the delightful early life of that proper New Yorker, the author of *The Night Before Christmas*, his "worshipp'd maid" and his solicitous mother who, with every good will in the world, found it hard to share the affections of her only child with another, but also because it gives a lovely picture of the wooing and winning of a girl of nearly a century and half ago.

As the curtain rises, the thirty-four-year-old suitor is spending the first half of the month before his wedding (they were married November 20, 1813) in Burlington, New Jersey, so that he could be near the home of Catharine Elizabeth Taylor, his nineteen-year-old sweetheart, who lived there with her widowed mother.² Every four days Clement Moore reported "progress" to his mother and his darling Eliza also wrote a charming letter to her future mother-in-law. Here then are the letters which the young people wrote to the mother, the wife of Bishop Benjamin Moore of "Chelsea" in New York.

¹ "When Clement Clarke Moore Was Young," by R. W. G. Vail, in *NYHS Quarterly*, October 1955, pp. 417-421, port.

² Widow of William Taylor, Lord Chief Justice of Jamaica, West Indies.

Clement C. Moore's Courtship

Burlington, Oct. 8, 1813

My dear Mother,

I yesterday wrote you a little bit of a letter, to let you know of my safe arrival here. I fear I shall not be able to write you one much longer today; I am sitting in Mrs. Taylor's parlour with Miss Taylor [his sweetheart] on the opposite side of the table. Of course, you may suppose my thoughts are not very firmly rivetted to my paper. If I am not absolutely bewitched & rendered stone blind, I feel more & more assured that none of us will have reason to repent my rashness, as some may be inclined to call my proceeding. I find my little girl possessed of every quality which my heart could desire; she yet seems to be confoundedly afraid of me, but I hope, ere long, her reserve will be overcome. All this, remember, is *entre-nous*; I do not choose to be laughed at by the girls.

I have this day changed by lodgings. I am at Mrs. Cameron's [sic], where I have a snug little room. I do not yet know who are my fellow lodgers, nor do I care. I have not yet seen a soul of my acquaintance in Burlington; I am waiting until my little girl is less afraid & less ashamed of her beau than she is at present, that I may get her to introduce me to some of the families here.

The air of Burlington is extremely healthful; I feel perfectly well, and hope to be as fat as a Moore can be before I return. Mrs. Taylor talks of going to N. York in the course of a week or two; I suppose that I shall remain here until then, & be her escort. My head is so confused that I cannot write three sentences that hang well together.

Write to me, and let me know how my father is: to whom, with the rest of the family, give the love of your

Affectionate Son,

C. C. MOORE

[*Addressed to:*] Mrs. Moore At Bishop Moore's—To be left at No. 20 Park-Place New York.

Two days later her future daughter-in-law wrote Mrs. Moore as follows:

Burlington, New Jersey
October 10th [1813]

Dearest Madam

I know not how to thank you for the flattering letter I received from the hands of your son, believe me it shall be the chief object of my life to render myself worthy of it, worthy of the blessing of his Parents, worthy of him; not a doubt of his fulfillment of his destiny in every station of life, obtrude upon my mind, it is myself only that I fear; young, thoughtless, inexperienced I scarcely dare hope to realise those expectations which the attachment he honours me with, has led him to form of



CLEMENT CLARKE MOORE (1779-1863)

Portrait by unidentified artist, c. 1830-40

Owned by Mrs. William Scoville Moore

me; yet under his guidance, anxious as I am to be all he wishes me, I trust my prayers for the ability of making him happy will not be unsuccessful and that you my dear Madam will have no cause to lament his giving me a claim to that title which you have already bestowed on me. Mamma

Clement C. Moore's Courtship

begs me to say every thing, that can assure you of her perfect confidence in one, into whose hands she so cheerfully resigns my future welfare; she also joins me in grateful feelings, for the kind manner in which you welcome me into your family; and with assurance of our united respect and esteem I remain

Ever your affectionate

C. ELIZA TAYLOR

[*Addressed to:*] Mrs. Moore Rt. Revd. Bishop Moore's Chelsea New York

Clement C. Moore continues the story to his mother:

Burlington, Oct. 12, 1813

My dear Mother,

You talk to me of returning home, before I am so far settled in mind as to feel myself perfectly at ease here, and before I have even learnt the points of the compass in Burlington. You may be sure I shall not leave this place (If I leave it without Mrs. Taylor & her daughter) before I have persuaded my little girl to fix the time when she will give me her hand. I have not yet been able to induce her to appoint a day. I have spoken to her but once on the subject; she appeared so timid, so agitated; and at the same time so distressed by the consciousness of her want of resolution, for which she called herself very silly, that I have thought best not to press her any farther, until she regards me less as a stranger than she must necessarily have done hitherto. Imagine a young girl of the liveliest sensibility, conscious that she is watched by the jealous eyes of the inhabitants of a country village, with no relation to protect her but an invalid mother, imagine the shock (if I may so express myself) which her tender mind must feel at seeing a man who is a stranger to her family, and almost to herself, enter suddenly into the bosom of that family, as one of its members. I am sometimes surprised at the courage she has displayed. After winning my warm-hearted, sweet-tempered girl, I have yet to woo her; and so quickly do the hours fly, that I cannot regret the time so spent. Remember not to show any thing of what I have written to any body but my father; and not to him, unless you think fit.

I have been so occupied, in one way or other, since I wrote last, that I have not found time to write till now. The lodgings to which Mrs. Taylor recommended me are very good. The name of the woman who keeps the house is not Cameron but Kammerer. I find the Wallace family^a as hospitable & attentive as it is possible for them to be. I dined with them yesterday, and have been riding with Mr. Wallace this morning. He

^a Probably the family of Judge Joshua Maddox Wallace (1752-1819), outstanding citizen of Burlington.

took me into the country, to shew me, among other things, the manner in which sweet potatoes grow. I saw a large field of them, and learned from the owner of it the way of planting them and the soil which they require.

I was to have dined with Dr. Wharton⁴ to day; but, owing to the indisposition of Mrs. Wharton, I thought it better to excuse myself.

Mrs. Wallace, in whose parlour I am writing, desires her respects to our family. Give my love to my father & the rest, & believe me ever your affectionate Son

C.C.M.

P.S. If Mr. Walton comes while I am away, do not let him give you the trouble of sending to Gerard Walton; but get him to give you the money or a check for it at once. If any letters come for me, alter the direction, and put them into the post-office; that they may reach me here. I shall probably send a note for the coachmaker at Newark, which I wish John to take there.

[*Addressed to:*] Mrs. Moore Care of Bishop Moore To be left at No. 20 Park Place New York.

Four days later Moore reported as follows to his mother:

[Burlington] Saturday Oct. 16, 1813

One would suppose, my dear Mother, that you thought me a prisoner among the Algerines. You seem as uneasy about me as if I was in hourly danger of being put to death. Why are you now so unusually desirous of my return home? Is it because you fear that the life I now lead is so pleasant that I shall never be able to enjoy myself again if I continue it too long? But whatever the motive may be which induces you to call me home so urgently, I trust you will soon be gratified; I believe I mentioned in my last that Mrs. Taylor, her daughter & myself intend to set out for N. York on Wednesday next.

If you feel inclined to laugh at me for what I have written to you, what would you do if you could see me through such a magic glass as we read of in the Arabian night's entertainments? The woman hater, the long-bearded jew, who, as you all supposed, or pretended to suppose, could love nothing but musty black-letter books, is converted into as spruce & gallant a lady's man as ever you beheld. I pass [*almost the whole* crossed out] a great part of every day at Mrs. Taylor's, reading novels to her daughter, sometimes laughing & sometimes crying over them with her; we ramble about in the country and talk all manner of nonsense; I cut her name upon the trees and try, but without success, to make verses. Instead of wearing a beard of two or three days old, like a jew rabbi, I trim myself every morning, and make my phiz as smooth as possible. You have long

⁴Reverend Charles Henry Wharton, D.D. (1748-1833), Rector of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Burlington, 1796-1833. He was twice married but had no children.

Clement C. Moore's Courtship

predicted that I should sooner or later be brought to this, and you see that you are not a false prophetess.

Give my love to my father & the girls, and believe me as ever your affectionate son

C. C. MOORE

[Addressed to:] *Mrs Moore* Care of Bishop Moore No. 20 Park-Place New York.

And so ends the record of the courtship of Clement C. Moore, as reported to his mother. The following month, on November 20, 1813, they were married and went to live with his parents at their country seat, "Chelsea," which stood facing the Hudson on the south side of Twenty-third Street, two hundred feet west of Ninth Avenue, New York City. Here they lived happily and, between 1815 and 1826, became the parents of three sons and six daughters. Bishop Benjamin Moore (President of Columbia College, 1801-1812, and Bishop of the Diocese, 1801-1816), became paralyzed in 1811 and died in 1816, aged 68. His wife Charity (Clarke) Moore died in 1838 in her 91st year. Mrs. Catharine Elizabeth (Taylor) Moore was born in 1794 and died on April 4, 1830, less than four years after the birth of her last child. Her husband, Clement Clarke Moore, devoted his life to his children, his studies and music and to the development of General Theological Seminary of which he was one of the chief benefactors.

A SAD POSTSCRIPT

Seventeen years later, Clement C. Moore wrote again to his mother. His father, the Bishop, had died in 1816 and his dear wife only four months before the date of his letter. He had gone to Saratoga Springs with his two eldest daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth (aged 15 and 14 respectively),⁵ in the vain hope of improving the health of the latter who was suffering from tuberculosis but who was to die four months later. Writing to his

⁵ Margaret Elliott Moore (June 6, 1815-April 13, 1845), married October 1, 1835 Dr. John Doughty Ogden; Charity Elizabeth Moore (September 11, 1816-December 14, 1830).



CHARITY CLARKE MOORE (1747-1838)

Wife of Bishop Benjamin Moore; mother of Clement C. Moore

Portrait by Daniel Huntington

Owned by Mrs. William Scoville Moore

mother, with whom the seven younger children had been left, he bravely voices his fears for the future of his dear daughter who was so soon to be taken from him.

Clement C. Moore's Courtship

Saratoga Springs, Saturday Aug. 14, 1830.

My dear Mother,

I have just received your letter; and as you may be sure, it has afforded me great gratification. It seems so long since I heard from home, that I felt very anxious to know how you all were. We arrived here on Tuesday, and are staying at the Pavilion. Elizabeth desires me to tell you that she is a great deal better. I should think so too if she got rid of that perpetual cough. She looks better, has a better appetite, and is stronger. All this, however, is to be attributed to change of air and exercise, and not to the water of Saratoga, for she has not tasted half a tea-cup full of it. The opinion of every one here, is, that the water would not be good for her; so that I have not urged her to take it; and she would not listen to my proposal of consulting the physician here on the subject. This is not the best place for her, after all. The mornings and evenings are cold and damp, and the middle of the day hot. I find that the exercise of driving out in the open air, in good weather, appears to have a beneficial effect upon her; so that I purpose to put our original plan into execution, of going somewhere by land, after returning home; where I must first go. We intend to return to Albany on Monday; and thence home, either on Tuesday or Wednesday. We must, of course, be governed by wind and weather, and other circumstances. I am a burnt child; I dread the fire. What I have seen result from a beginning smaller, in appearance, than that which is now before me, keeps my mind in a state of constant alarm. I repine not at the ways of Providence, and I am ready to submit to whatever may be imposed upon me; but I trust & pray that my heart may not again be rent. The first room into which I was shown, upon my arrival here, was the one in which we lodged when I was last here, some 9 or 10 years ago. I felt a shock from which I have not yet recovered. The colour of this life is, to me, changed for ever. Margaret is very well, and appears very happy. She and Elizabeth send their love and kisses to all.

I saw Mr. Walton this morning. He has promised to prepare the statement you desire, before I leave Saratoga. A man, named Hale, has just called upon me to inquire about Mary's [perhaps his third daughter] 60 acre farm. He wishes to purchase it. I promised that I would speak to Mary & consult Mr. Emott about it, and let him know what she is inclined to do with regard to it.

It is growing late, and I must close my letter, to send it to the post-office this evening; as the mail goes early in the morning. Give my love & my blessing to all the children, and tell them we intend to come home soon.

Good night, dear Mother, and take care of yourself.

Your affectionate son

CLEMENT C. MOORE

Mrs. Moore.

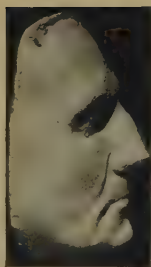
[*Addressed to:*] Mrs. Moore No. 1 Charlton St. New York.



JOHN JAMES AUDUBON
(1785–1851)

AN EVALUATION OF
THE MAN AND HIS WORK

by ROBERT CUSHMAN MURPHY*



WE ALL KNOW that now and then a man or a woman can suddenly capture the imagination of the world and become nearly everywhere a living name. In the early nineteenth century Alexander von Humboldt was such an individual, more widely known than any crowned head in Europe. Later, Sarah Bernhardt occupied a comparable niche, and, within the memory of most of us, Charles A. Lindbergh flew overnight into fame. Another American who unexpectedly acquired similar glory was Audubon. In his case the rise from obscurity was due solely to his preoccupation with wild birds. His elevation to what we might call the acquaintanceship of all mankind began with the publication of the first portfolio of *The Birds of America* in 1827.

John James Audubon was a pioneer naturalist and the earliest artist of distinction who chose birds as his major theme. He became a universally romantic figure as soon as he had tasted fame. He returned from Europe to the young Republic of the United States laden with honors, and thereafter enjoyed an aura which at the present day could attach only to an impossible combination of a motion-picture hero and a Nobel Prize winner in science.

As both artist and naturalist, his reputation is doubtless now

* Dr. Murphy, Lamont Curator Emeritus of Birds and Research Associate in Oceanic Birds at The American Museum of Natural History, addressed The New-York Historical Society, March 12, 1946, in commemoration of the 95th anniversary of Audubon's death. That address is the basis of his present article. The headpieces are left and right profile views of the life mask of John James Audubon taken by Robert Havell, Jr., in London, c. 1830, which the Society owns in a replica presented by the late Harry P. Havell in 1948.

greater than at any time in the past. Recent renewal of interest is in part due to the first definitive exhibition of his bird paintings to be held for more than a century. During half of the year 1946 this brought many thousands of visitors to the galleries of The New-York Historical Society, the fortunate institution that owns all but three of the lifesize watercolors from which the plates of the double-elephant folio were engraved. Since then a permanent Audubon Gallery, where the Society keeps a choice selection of its unpublished as well as published originals before the public, has been recruiting additional multitudes to Audubon's banner.

Books about Audubon continue to appear with extraordinary frequency. To make him "good copy" the legends of his career unite with the facts, for there is much that still remains clouded with uncertainty or mystery. Even the place, date, and circumstances of his birth are perhaps not settled with finality. It would be hard to find another historical figure of the 19th century in which superlative traits, both physical and mental, seem to have been more inextricably mingled. It is quite impossible to dissect Audubon's natural history away from his art, or to divide either from his intellectual curiosity, his extraordinary powers of observation, and the vivid and vigorous imagery of his language—however faulty the speech or outlandish the syntax and spelling. He was, to say the least, a remarkably homogeneous combination of characteristics rarely found together in one person.

The source of such opinions lies not in the many books *about* Audubon, although several of them are excellent, or even classic, works. It is to be sought, rather, in his own records, such as drawings, letters, and journals (particularly such as have not been transcribed, smoothed, or emasculated by some of his descendants), in the few articles on natural history subjects that he published early in his career, and in the text of the *Ornithological Biography*.

Audubon was, beyond any doubt, a highly gifted human being. Some of his casually recorded but well-attested accom-



JOHN JAMES AUDUBON (1785-1851)

By Victor Gifford Audubon and John Woodhouse Audubon, his sons

Owned by The American Museum of Natural History

plishments demonstrate this. Physically he was not only handsome and well formed, but was also agile, graceful, wiry and tireless. He danced so well that he was a favored teacher among well-to-do gentry and their pampered daughters of southern plantations. When almost 60 years of age, in the triumphant period following the publication and success of his great work, he could write from New Orleans that he had danced half the night before.

He could ride a restive, half-broken horse and could swim strongly. He could walk with a gun and a pack from sunrise until sunset. In his youth he traveled afoot, at the rate of 37 miles a day, from Mill Grove on the River Perkiomen to New York. In later life he covered comparable distances through the forests of the Middle West for several days on end, and still later, in Great

John James Audubon

Britain, he sometimes preferred to walk from one city to the next, while others rode. At this stage of life he alleged, indeed, that on shanks' mares he could outwalk and kill any horse in England within 20 days. That such a boast may not be idle is supported by an old belief in Army circles that a well-trained foot soldier can always walk a horse into its grave, if he be given time enough to do it.

Audubon was an expert fencer and teacher of fencing. On one occasion in Kentucky he routed an alleged professor of sword-play, and again, in Louisiana, a mere recital by others of his prowess was sufficient to cause an itinerant Frenchman to decamp by night, thereby escaping a duel which all the young blades of the countryside were hoping would take place next day.

Audubon was also a Dead-eye Dick with the flintlock, and with the percussion fowling pieces used by sportsmen in his latter days. All who went afield with him freely acknowledged his superiority with a gun.

Added to all such strength, keenness of the senses, poise and muscular coordination, Audubon was a musician of no mean endowment, a player of the violin, flute and flageolet, and capable of making a living on occasion by giving lessons in the use of these instruments.

His innate talent and ultimate products in the sphere of the graphic arts are spread before us here in The New-York Historical Society, so that you may judge them for yourselves. Audubon could not only draw and paint—he could do so with either hand, or with both hands together and simultaneously. In other words, he had the very exceptional gift of ambidexterity. He also possessed the ability to express his thoughts strikingly and picturesquely in three languages, French, Spanish, and English, none of which, according to his own testimony, he spoke with scholarly precision.

Added to all of the foregoing is the fact that Audubon had in the main what would be regarded as exemplary personal habits. He never tasted wine until his wedding day, and he avoided all



AUDUBON EXHIBITION, THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1946

alcoholic beverages except for a little whiskey and water taken in his latter years for what he considered therapeutic reasons. He rarely drank either tea or coffee, nor did he use tobacco in a period when most men smoked and many chewed. (The exception to this statement is that for a time he affected the use of snuff after his first visit to England.) And finally, he seems to have lost his heart but once. To judge from the abundant, detailed, and extremely frank and intimate records of his journals and letters, he was devoted wholly and completely to Lucy Bakewell from the moment he fell in love with her to the end of his life.

As regards the star to which he hitched his wagon in early manhood, namely, the reproduction in munificent form of his paintings of *THE BIRDS OF AMERICA*, no trial was sufficient to make him swerve a half-point from his course. For that cause he not only suffered cold, homelessness, raggedness, hunger, and

their attendant despondency, but even the far sharper punishment of the contempt of men for his condition, and for his apparent disregard for the welfare of his wife and children.

None would deny that John James Audubon was exceptionally fortunate in his loving, forbearing, and resourceful wife. Lucy Bakewell, lifted while still a fledgling from the well-feathered nest of her father's Ionic mansion, 'Fatland Ford,' in Pennsylvania, took on her own competent shoulders the support of herself and the two sons during long periods. Her inheritance, and later her savings were poured into the great undertaking in which John and Lucy, of all mankind, alone had faith. If Audubon had died while the end was yet only in prospect, or if the work had not been crowned with success, his reputation, if any had survived him, would have been that of a ne'er-do-well, if not a cad. In view of the triumph which these two devoted souls ultimately created by their fixed aim and mutual sacrifice, all the strange and unpromising stages of the years of preparation can only be regarded as justified and sanctified.

Incident after incident in the original sources shows how firm, how adamant, how obstinate beyond all reason, was Audubon in allowing no force to deflect him from the voyage he had charted. The epithets and opprobrium of his detractors in the feud conducted in his name and that of Alexander Wilson—but a feud furthered more by partisans of the two men than by the principals themselves—either bounced off his tough hide unnoticed or else were answered by still sharper verbal arrows of his own. In any exchange of tongue-lashing, Audubon was quite as dangerous an adversary as though the weapon had been the *épée*.

The kindly and seemingly reasonable advice of friends fell equally upon deaf ears. Audubon remained completely unconvinced when told that reproduction of his drawings in their natural size represented a quixotic hope, and was, in fact, something quite out of the question. Over and over on this point, as on many others, he set down his feelings and determination in words such as this entry in his diary for September 29, 1826: "No work



CALIFORNIA CONDOR: ELEPHANT FOLIO PLATE 426

Engraved by Robert Havell after the original by John James Audubon



SWAMP SPARROW

"Drawn from Nature by Lucy Audubon"

The New-York Historical Society

of mine shall be other than true metal—if copper, copper; if gold, gold—but not copper gilded.”

Do not infer that Audubon was without faults. On the contrary, he was filled, in younger life at least, with a vanity little short of childish. He was tetchy, quick-tempered, inordinately moody, at times even vituperative. As gentle a man as Charles Darwin, who remained calm and sweet-tempered even under the most outrageous abuse, wrote of a meeting at the University of Edinburgh in 1827: “I heard Audubon deliver some interesting discussions on North American birds, sneering somewhat unjustly at Waterton.” (It was the latter naturalist who had attacked, with considerable reason, the reliability of Audubon’s article on the rattlesnake. In subsequent exchanges, however, Waterton was guilty of more unjust sneering than Audubon.)

In weighing further the character of Audubon, we find that he was not always generous, or even fair, in acknowledging the very important share that collaborators made toward the success of his undertaking. Young Joseph Mason, for example, the lad who, beginning at age 13 (!), executed the charming floral accessories of the earlier bird paintings, never received the engraved acknowledgment that he had been led to expect. When Mason refused to make the voyage to Great Britain, Audubon evidently concluded that all obligations were cancelled. With his adored Lucy everything was, of course, quite different, and the artist instructed Robert Havell, his engraver, that the copper plate of the swamp sparrow should bear the line “Drawn from nature by Lucy Audubon,” an order that was duly fulfilled.

Shakespeare tells us that

The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interrèd with their bones.

This cannot and should not be said of Audubon, whose valor, virtue, and genius, have long outlived his failings. His spoiling in childhood by an indulgent foster-mother, the fact that he played hooky from school in France, and that he later took on a vagabondish aspect to contemporaries in a pioneer community of the

young Middle West, really played into the groove in which his career seems to have been destined to run. Even his persistent and widely advertised commercial failures indicate no native lack of ability. They are explained quite simply by his own words in the introductory address to the "Kind Reader" in the first volume of the *Ornithological Biography*. He writes:

For a period of nearly twenty years, my life was a succession of vicissitudes. I tried various branches of commerce, but they all proved unprofitable, doubtless because my whole mind was ever filled with my passion for rambling and admiring those objects of nature from which alone I received the purest gratification.

It is not too much to assume that Audubon might have attained in business rich rewards—and oblivion. At Henderson, Kentucky, he made substantial profits both in real estate dealings and in the purchase and sale of slaves. He and his partner, Rozier, once conveyed on a flatboat down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi to Sainte Geneviève a cargo of 300 barrels of good Monongahela bourbon whiskey, which they had purchased for 25 cents a gallon. (Yes, 25 cents a *gallon*!) They then sold every drop of it for two dollars a gallon, which seems no mean profit even to a generation which pays twenty dollars or more in excise taxes on every gallon of its grog.

No, Audubon's failures are to be interpreted as a combination of such misfortunes as financial depressions, the War of 1812, and the fact that he could not keep his mind off matters that were, as hindsight now tells us, vastly more important than those to which he was supposed to be giving his attention. Let us not fall into the error of thinking that this American Woodsman lacked iron in his soul because his beloved Lucy lived through twelve years in a condition quite out of harmony with the accepted social standards for husband and wife. The trials sometimes bent them like steel springs, but they always rebounded. Both knew Lucy's competence, and only twice or thrice did the wolf of want slink close to the door during Audubon's prolonged absences from home.

He actually showed an admirable resourcefulness not only in making his own living in such times and places, but also in being able to send home considerable, even though insufficient, contributions toward support of his wife and sons. Certainly he never hesitated to begin his wanderings of hundreds or thousands of miles without a penny in his pockets, trusting to the odd chances of drawing portraits in black chalk, or of teaching pupils to speak French, dance, or play the violin, thus to keep himself supplied with food and lodging, and at the same time enable him to observe, collect, and paint *THE BIRDS OF AMERICA*. The uncompromising nature of his resolution is well shown by the fact that, after he had finally acquired a style of bird portraiture which satisfied his own ideal, he ruthlessly destroyed all of the earlier and inferior drawings that remained in his possession, including 200 boyhood portraits of French birds executed before 1803.

Certain writers on Audubon are at pains to refer to him as a "Frenchman." The term is used a bit deprecatingly by partisans of Alexander Wilson, who was a Scot. But his contemporaries, here and abroad, thought of him only as an American. The French, for example, have no lack of possessive national pride and yet one of the earliest biographies, a book by P. A. Cap, published in Paris in 1862, is entitled *Audubon, Naturaliste Américain*. All we know of him, indeed, bespeaks Americanism in personality and accomplishment. He was, to be sure, French by blood, though of our hemisphere, but his genius was a flower of the yet untamed New World. His journals, his art, his likes and prejudices, his mildly juvenile boastfulness and swashbuckling, his absorption with the wilderness, his buckskins and long hair, his ardent patriotism—everything that he was—proclaim him, like many another transplant, American to the core.

So this, in sketchy outline, was the youth who set out—deliberately, it appears—in the early years of the last century, to become the Columbus of birds, the prophet of a new ornithology in a New World. The foundation upon which he was to build is set

forth in an oddly formalized and sentimental paragraph from the introduction to the *Ornithological Biography*, dated at Edinburgh in March, 1831:

I received life and light in the New World. When I had hardly yet learned to walk, and to articulate those first words always so endearing to parents, the productions of Nature that lay spread all around, were constantly pointed out to me. They soon became my playmates; and before my ideas were sufficiently formed to enable me to estimate the difference between the azure tints of the sky, and the emerald hue of the bright foliage, I felt that an intimacy with them, not consisting of friendship merely, but bordering on phrenzy, must accompany my steps through life;—and now, more than ever, am I persuaded of the power of those early impressions. They laid such hold upon me, that, when removed from the woods, the prairies, and the brooks, or shut up from the view of the wide Atlantic, I experienced none of those pleasures most congenial to my mind. None but aerial companions suited my fancy. No roof seemed so secure to me as that formed of the dense foliage under which the feathered tribes were seen to resort, or the caves and fissures of the massy rocks to which the dark-winged Cormorant and the Curlew retired to rest, or to protect themselves from the fury of the tempest. My father generally accompanied my steps, procured birds and flowers for me with great eagerness,—pointed out the elegant movements of the former, and beauty and softness of their plumage, the manifestations of their pleasure or sense of danger,—and the always perfect forms and splendid attire of the latter. My valued preceptor would then speak of the departure and return of birds with the seasons, would describe their haunts, and, more wonderful than all, their change of livery; thus exciting me to study them, and to raise my mind toward their great Creator.

This may have been what Audubon *felt*. That he was filled with divine afflatus we can accept as certain, but what did he really know? One biographer states that in France he received the comfortable and rather lackadaisical education of a well-to-do bourgeois youth, including a regrettable lack of drill in writing his own or any other language. The same writer adds, somewhat vaguely, that he grew up in a period in which he may have absorbed the atmosphere of the naturalistic revival made popular by Rousseau, Buffon, and Lamarck.

We need not pursue such speculations. We accept the fact of

his childhood love of nature and insatiable curiosity. These traits continued into manhood, but they were accompanied by what would nowadays be regarded as an appalling ignorance. How relatively little he knew about North American birds, 17 years after his arrival at Philadelphia, is revealed by items in his Mississippi journals of the year 1820, some of which are cited below.

In our day, many a young enthusiast in his or her 'teens, who has attended meetings of such groups as the Linnaean Society of New York, the Nuttall Club in Boston, the Delaware Valley Ornithological Club in Philadelphia, or the Cooper Club in California, can name at sight two or three hundred species of native birds. It is difficult for us to realize the almost total lack of kindred resources available to the young Audubon 125 years ago. There were few human associations to help him, no ornithological magazines, no photographs, no practical drawings or adequate books. Catesby, who had begun his *Natural History of Carolina* about 1730, and Alexander Wilson, were the only authors who had written extensively on North American birds.

Catesby's work was cumbersome, and so scarce as to be unavailable. Wilson's was in the process of printing while Audubon was making his travels. Whenever the lonely wanderer arrived at a town urbane enough to include within its population one or more subscribers to Wilson's *American Ornithology*, he would borrow and avidly peruse the new parts, ending by chortling over his recognition of the fact that his own paintings were superior to those of his rival.

But of ornithology he knew much less than Wilson. He had obtained, as already noted, no scientific education, and he was guiltless of familiarity with the fairly extensive European literature relating to birds of the world as a whole. It is necessary to take all of this into account if we are to understand the extremely limited background of the young bird-lover and hunter who could not then even recognize a cormorant when he saw flocks of this waterfowl migrating down the Mississippi in autumn. To the same circumstances we must attribute his failure to identify

the young stages of a number of well-known birds, which he figured and described as hitherto unknown species.

The wonder, of course, is not that Audubon knew so little, but that he succeeded in learning so much. With the exception of Wilson's work, his only recourse was a volume of Turton's English translation of 1806 from the Latin of Linné's *Systema Naturae*. In the present day of Roger Peterson's *Field Guide to the Birds*, would you care to hear how the long-suffering young Audubon had to endeavor to identify his newly shot cormorant? Turton called it a "corvorant"; he listed it in the same genus as the pelican; he did not distinguish between the black cormorants of the Old World and the New. His dry-as-dust description is as follows, and this is all there is to it:

Tail rounded; body black; head subcrested. Inhabits *Europe, Asia and America*; 3 feet long; is exceedingly voracious; builds on the highest cliffs hanging over the sea, and in trees; eggs greenish; was formerly tamed by the English to catch fish, and is still by the Chinese.

Bill blackish, the base of the lower mandible covered with a yellowish skin, extending under the chin, and forming a pouch; *irids* green; *chin* white, surrounded with a yellowish arch; *tail* long, lax, feathers 14; *thighs* with a white spot dotted with black; *legs* black.

That would surely blight the most hardy ambition of any budding ornithologist of our own time!

Now let us leap lightly over a few years and turn from Audubon the unknown peripatetic painter and diarist to Audubon the producer, the home-town boy who had made good, the picturesque American Woodsman, the long-haired sage out of the wilderness. His epoch-making work, represented by writings no less than by a totally new conception of animal portraiture, was shortly to burst like a bombshell upon both the scientific and the esthetic worlds, alike in Europe and in the still young Republic of the West.

His earliest publications came before his voyage to Britain in search of a publisher, and were a result of associations he had made with the scientific coteries of Philadelphia and New York. They appeared in 1824, in the *Annals of the Lyceum of Natural*



EUROPEAN CORMORANT

Original watercolor by John James Audubon

The New-York Historical Society

History of New York (I: 163–168). The very first was a note on the nesting of cliff swallows, appended to a longer paper on the same birds by DeWitt Clinton, Governor of New York State.

The second was entitled “Facts and Observations connected with the Permanent Residence of Swallows in the United States.” This was an important contribution to knowledge of bird migration, being also one of the last published attacks upon the then moribund idea that swallows disappeared in the winter by hibernating in the mud under ponds. Audubon refers to this as “the much agitated question, respecting the emigration or supposed torpidity of the swallow.”

For the source of his data we need only turn to the lively jottings in his journal covering the period between October, 1820, and January, 1821, when he was living almost like a lonely hobo in New Orleans, but still dreaming his dreams and some-

how contriving to accomplish the work to which he had consecrated himself.

At that date, even some scientific men still believed in the hibernation of swallows. As recently as 1814, Thomas Forster had published in London the fourth edition of his book entitled *Observations on the Brumal Retreat of the Swallow*. In this work Forster correctly concludes that most swallows migrate away from northern latitudes in autumn. Yet he still hedges to the extent of holding that the swallows which are a bit tardy, and which perhaps fail to escape the frost in time, are endowed by the Creator with a capacity to sleep away the winter in hiding, like a bat, or even like a frog in the cold mud.

The truth about this question was settled for Audubon by observations noted in his New Orleans journal on October 30, 1820. It is a very characteristic example of his manner of writing down his mental flashes:

The day Warm, Swallows Plenty and quite as gay in their flight as in June—to find here those Birds in abundance 3 Months after they have left the Middle States, and to Know that they Winter Within 40 Miles in Multitudes is one of the Gratifications the Most Exquisite I ever Wish to feel in Ornithological Subjects and that Puts [a] compleat Dash over *all* the Nonsense Wrote about their Torpidity during Cold Weather; No Man could ever have enjoyed the Study of Nature in her all Feminine Bosomy Wild and errd So Wide—

“Femine,” of course, means feminine. Half the words begin with capital letters, and many others are misspelled. But what a wealth of truth there is in that last clause: “No Man could ever have enjoyed the Study of Nature in her all Feminine Bosomy Wild and errd So Wide—”! How it hurts to consider that notebooks filled with such treasure, including all of Audubon’s contiguous journal for the year 1822, were intentionally burned in 1895 by a granddaughter!

During Audubon’s residence in Edinburgh and London, and after his election to several learned societies, he published additional articles, which likewise had their roots in his journals.



WILD TURKEY



TURKEY BUZZARD

Original watercolors by John James Audubon

The New-York Historical Society

Some of these raised tempests, or cast doubt at the time upon his judgment or veracity as a naturalist. It may prove fruitful to consider several of them.

In 1827 Audubon published in Edinburgh his "Account of the Habits of the Turkey Buzzard" (*Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, II: 172-184). This text shows him at his best, not only as a life-history of a bird he knew supremely well, but more particularly as an example of the experimental method of investigation. He set out to learn whether the vulture found its food entirely by sight, or whether, as was generally believed at that period, it relied upon a keen sense of smell. His conclusions subjected him to savage and prolonged abuse, but, although the question may not even yet be regarded as fully settled, his technique was sound.

The empirical method was not new to Audubon. As early as

1804, near Philadelphia, he had undertaken the first banding experiment on the young of an American bird, fastening silver wires around the legs of nestling phoebes and finding, in the following spring, that two of them were nesting a little way up the creek from the place where they had hatched. A full century later, the American Bird-Banding Association began on a large scale the movement which has resulted in the marking of well over a million wild birds.

In the case of the turkey vulture Audubon made the shrewd, though not necessarily completely true, observation that nature, while wonderfully bountiful, had not granted more acute senses to any one species than were necessary. He, himself, knew of none possessed of any two of the senses in an extremely high state of perfection. In other words, if a creature had a good sense of smell, it no longer needed also acute keenness of vision, and *vice versa*. This was, in effect, a restatement of the logical principle known as the Law of Parsimony.

Audubon stuffed a deer skin with hay, allowed it to become thoroughly dry and hard, took it into an open field and laid it on its back with its legs spread. Turkey vultures promptly spied it, alighted and attacked it in vain, first pulling out the eyes, which were painted marbles, next tearing the stitching at the tail end, and finally giving up the effort as a bad job. Yet one of the same vultures, after taking flight, spied a garter snake on the ground at a distance of 100 yards or more, promptly alighted, and gobbled it up.

Next Audubon hid a large dead hog in a ravine filled with briars, and covered it over with canes. Within two days the odor of the carcass was so offensive that he could not approach within thirty yards. Dogs followed their noses and crawled under the vegetation to feed, but vultures, frequently sailing over it in all directions and sometimes close to the ground, failed to discover it.

Next he killed a young pig, made a trail of its blood leading to the place where the carcass was entirely concealed under leaves

in the ravine. Turkey vultures promptly saw the blood, descended, and followed it until they discovered the carcass, which they devoured while it was still quite fresh.

He continued his experiments with caged turkey vultures, and established to his satisfaction that the birds used their eyes rather than an olfactory sense in locating either dead or living prey. The popular misconception, Audubon maintained, is due to the fact that vultures also watch sharply the actions of each other, so that the descent to food on the part of one bird will bring others to the same place throughout an ever-widening circle.

In the *Edinburgh Journal of Science* for the same year (1827, VI:156-161) he published his "Account of the Carrion Crow" or black vulture, a paper which admirably describes the manner in which this species differs in behavior and ecology from the turkey vulture.

He aspired, however, to be a "naturalist," rather than merely an ornithologist. Among other papers of 1827 was his "Observations on the Natural History of the Alligator" (*Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, II:270-280). In this he corrects various ancient misconceptions about the habits of alligators, describes well the annual cycle in the life history of the reptile, and records data, which otherwise might have been lost, on the early preparation in our southern States of Alligator oil for checking the boiling-over of juice during the manufacture of indigo, and for lubricating the machinery of cotton mills.

Then came his famous "Notes on the Rattlesnake" (*Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, 1827, III:21-30), which brought forth a flood of acrimonious literature for years to follow.

In this paper Audubon effectively disposes of the legend that rattlesnakes or other serpents are capable of "charming" birds. At the same time he falls into equally serious errors, and the text as a whole is extremely faulty. It seems to record as personal observation matters which the author had probably picked up merely as hearsay. Also, it shows that he had failed to distinguish



MOCKINGBIRD [WITH RATTLESNAKE ROBBING NEST]

Original watercolor by John James Audubon

The New-York Historical Society

between rattlers and certain other species, such as the king snake.

He describes a snake climbing into the upper branches of a tree, pursuing and eventually overtaking and swallowing a gray squirrel. The observation was allegedly made in 1821, and is detailed very fully. Any account of a rattlesnake chasing prey through an arboreal environment is sheer nonsense, as is Audubon's story of the killing of a squirrel by constriction, of which the rattlesnake is wholly incapable. The reason why a king snake can so easily destroy a rattler is just because the latter has *no* power of constriction. If Audubon ever witnessed such a scene as he relates, he certainly mistook his species of snake. Other absurdities in this article are the statements that rattlesnakes use their venom only in inflicting *defensive* wounds, that they die if made to bite themselves, and that a slight scratch from a fang imbedded in a boot could successively cause the death of three men a year apart!

Audubon was presumably cajoled into rather too much writing and publication in 1827. The rattlesnake yarn was the worst *faux pas* of all. It has lived to plague him and his memory, even though in later life he was at great pains to prove that rattlesnakes do occasionally climb trees.

In another article, "Notes on the Bird of Washington or Great American Sea Eagle" (*Magazine of Natural History*, 1829, I: 115-120), Audubon was once again caught off base. I suspect that here a sense of rivalry, not to say jealousy, was his undoing. He writes:

Being convinced that this bird was unknown to naturalists, I felt particularly anxious to learn its habits, and in what particulars it differed from the rest of its genus. Mr. Wilson had confounded it with the bald or white-headed eagle, one of the young of which he has given the figure of, to represent it. But I am strongly inclined to believe that he never saw this bird.

Thus the Audubon-Wilson controversy, fostered by George Ord, Waterton, and others, flared up. In this case Audubon, the more artistically talented of the two men, was wrong, and the

dour Scot, Alexander Wilson, was right. The much-touted bird of Washington was nothing more than an immature bald eagle. It is impossible to reconcile with accuracy Audubon's insistence upon the greatly larger size of his specimen, and his account that he saw birds in this plumage mated and rearing young along the Ohio River. He drew equally upon his imagination in stating that the oil glands of the "Great American Sea Eagle" are much larger, and yield a more copious supply of feather-dressing, than those of the bald eagle.

To the day of his death, or rather, in the words of the Reverend John Bachman, to the day when his mind fell in ruins, Audubon professed belief in his "Bird of Washington" as a species distinct from the bald eagle. Dr. Bachman, of Charleston, Audubon's co-author in the great work on American mammals, as well as his closest friend and fearless critic, knew his colleague's ability to juggle the spoken or written word, but held that Audubon's *brush* was always a truth-teller.

The magnificent article on the passenger pigeon, later reproduced with only slight changes in the *Ornithological Biography*, belongs also to the year 1827. But let us consider now a paper of indispensable importance to a critique of Audubon's enduring status as both artist and naturalist, namely, the "Account of the Method of Drawing Birds," which appeared in the *Edinburgh Journal of Science* in 1828 (VIII:48-54).

This document recounts the history of his artistic development. He states that he studied for a short time in youth under good masters (including the French painter, David), but that his work was entirely unsatisfactory to him until prolonged regularity of application made him the possessor of a style that he followed thereafter to the end.

He tells of his close observation of his subjects in their natural environment. He first formed his sketches in his mind's eye, building into them the thought of including examples of female and immature birds, no less than of adult males. He enlarges also upon the advantages of not hurrying the completion of a draw-



PASSENGER PIGEON



SEA EAGLE [SO CALLED]

Original watercolors by John James Audubon

The New-York Historical Society

ing, some of which, he states, lay unfinished for months or even years, whereupon he attacked them with renewed enthusiasm and brought them to a conclusion all the more satisfactory.

All his drawings were made from freshly killed birds. "I have *never* drawn from a stuffed specimen," he writes. Since his productions were also life-size, and of the precise dimensions of the subjects, he tells of the importance he gave to measurements, of the elaborate device of ruling off squares on a background paper as well as on the sheet upon which his painting was spread, and of the manner in which he wired up the bodies of his models.

Thus far, the method sounds sufficiently mechanical and deathly, as though carefully arranged corpses were the chief source of his art. He neglects to refer to more fundamental requirements of life study, which are exemplified, nevertheless, by the small-scale sketches of living birds to be found on the margins

of his journals. One of a loon swallowing a fish, and another of a ruddy duck, are samples of the kind of field memorandum that conveyed so much vitality to his finished plates.

Worthy of attention by all artists who paint natural history subjects are the following paragraphs from this article:

In forming works entirely with a view to distinguish the true from the false, nature *must* be seen first alive, and well studied, before attempts are made at representing it. Take such advantages away from the naturalist, who ought to be artist also, and he fails as completely as Raphael himself must have done, had he not fed his pencil with all belonging to a mind perfectly imbued with a knowledge of real forms, muscles, bones, movements, and, lastly, that spiritual expression of feelings that paintings like his exhibit so beautifully.

Among the naturalists of the time, several who are distinguished have said that representations of subjects ought to be entirely devoid of shades in all their parts; that the colouring of the figure, that must be precisely profile, cannot be understood by the student if differently represented. Why then should the best artists of the same age give us pictures with powerful breadth of lights and shades?, and why, still more strange, should every individual who looks on such paintings feel not only pleased, but elevated at the grand conception of the painter, and at the nobleness of the subjects being so much like through their effect? My opinion is, that he who cannot conceive and determine the *natural* coloring of a shaded part, need not study either natural history or any thing else connected with it. . . .

If the greater number of figures given in a work are received as perfectly correct in all their parts, by comparing them with good specimens, and through such an examination the author is greeted with public confidence, why should the reader be tormented with descriptions? Where is the amateur of paintings who could bear the reading of a description of the structure, muscles, and expression of the face of such a man as Rembrandt, after gazing at the portrait of that eminent artist by himself? The study of ornithology must be a journey of pleasure. Each step must present to the traveller's view objects that are eminently interesting, varied in their appearance, and attracting to such a degree, as to excite in each individual thus happily employed the desire of knowing all respecting all he sees.

In view of Audubon's self-declared scrupulousness of observation, how does it happen that he sometimes related as fact matters which we now know to be false? Perhaps a casual remark in the article on his method of drawing may shed light on this point. He does not assert that he has reported *only* what he has seen

with his own eyes, but adds that he has set down also accounts corroborated by "accumulated repetitions." He evidently did not realize in his naive period that the most arrant absurdities are capable of being repeated countless times and devoutly believed by thousands of people. Josh Billings, or some other American wit, had not yet been born to say: "It is not what you don't know that hurts you, it's all the things you do know that ain't so."

The passage of Audubon's writing just referred to is worth reading:

Being quite unknown amongst naturalists, I have had to depend on my own exertions alone, without either correspondents or friends. I have followed slowly to be sure, but constantly, my object. I have often listened to the different observations of men who accidentally had made remarks on different species of birds, but seldom, except when with the rough hunters and squaters of the frontiers, have I discovered naked facts in such relations. This has dissuaded me from ever taking any account given me for granted, until corroborated either by my own ocular opportunities or accumulated repetitions. The astonishing tendency that men have to *improve nature in their way*, by embellishing each of their descriptions of habits without any farther object in view than that of entertaining the better their hearers, has frequently deterred me from listening at all to such accounts, and has brought my physical system to a solitary state of habits and manners so different from those that usually accompany men, that frequently I feel uneasy, as well as awkward, if more than one or two companions are about me. To the improvement of my observations I have found this no detriment. On the contrary, I am persuaded that alone in the woods, or at my work, I can make better use of the whole of myself than in any other situation, and that thereby I have lost nothing in exchanging the pleasure of studying *men* for that of admiring the feathered race.

If Audubon had always clung to his preference for working alone, and for believing only what he had seen or confirmed with his own sharp senses, he would neither have written the rattlesnake story nor lent his authority to certain still-current nonsense about the habits of gray squirrels, which he repeats in the same article.

The first fifty plates of *The Birds of America* were issued in 1827 and 1828. What was their reception, and how does contemporary opinion square with that of today?

Baron Cuvier, foremost savant of the time, called Audubon's work "le plus magnifique monument que l'art ait encore élevé à la nature." There were numerous lengthy reviews in both Europe and America. As a good example we may select that written in the spring of 1828 by the distinguished ornithologist William Swainson, Fellow of the Royal Society.

Swainson hailed Audubon as a new genius who had appeared as a gift to mankind. He declared that he had never seen any announcement of the forthcoming work either in booksellers' lists or in scholarly publications. His first appraisal had come through a short note published in the *Zoological Journal*, which recalled to him the freshness and originality of several of Audubon's short essays and led him to hunt up and examine the early issues of the plates. Swainson was quick to recognize the contrast between Audubon's conception and execution and the figures of birds that had preceded them. Here, for the first time, the subjects were displayed as living beings and as exquisite designs, instead of as stiffly conventional profiles. Of the busy brood of chicks in the female wild turkey plate, Swainson noted that the particular merit of the picture lay in the various employment of the young: "Some," he notes, "are picking the leaves of plants, others looking about for insects, one is trimming its tail and all are busy. The grouping of these little creatures cannot be surpassed; it would do honor to the pencil of Rubens. The pencilling is such a perfect copy of nature, that, although the attitudes are difficult, and perhaps uncommon, we fancy we have seen them over and over again."

Yes, here was something utterly new in bird portraiture, and we may be assured that the lesson is needed almost as much today as it was in Audubon's time.

Swainson then proceeded to comment on ten additional plates, pointing out and admiring the foreshortening in the details, stating that "every object speaks, either to the senses or to the imagination," (which, after all, is the essence of art,) and adding that "to represent the passions and the feelings of birds, might,



SNOWY HERON (EGRET)
Original watercolor
by John James Audubon

until now, have been well deemed chimerical." This keen and appreciative critic closes at the end of nearly ten pages of text, in the first volume of the *Magazine of Natural History*, a technical journal which is still being published in London, with these words: "I have no previous acquaintance with M. Audubon. I never even saw him; the copy of his work which furnishes these remarks has been lent to me . . . but I can appreciate genius; and I shall ever employ my poor abilities to make it known."

Swainson's appreciation, today no less than in 1828, is a fair estimate of Audubon's natural history and of his creative artistry. If you doubt it, seek the Audubon plates and contemplate the richness of the snowy heron and the black-billed cuckoo; the charming composition and rhythm of loggerhead shrikes in the smilax vine; the sweep and color of Collie's magpie-jay; the texture of plumage in the whip-poor-will; the vitality of the wood duck family; the poise and dignity of the brown pelican;



BLACK-BILLED CUCKOO
The New-York Historical Society



GREAT BLACK-BACKED GULL

Original watercolor by John James Audubon

The New-York Historical Society

the singularly dramatic challenge of the great black-backed gull with the broken wing.

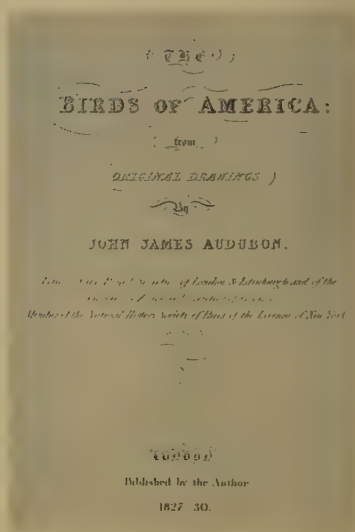
The trouble with most ornithologists is that they seek in a bird portrait not what can be seen in the light and shade of the open air, but, rather, what they *know* to be there, which is quite another matter. Audubon knew the meaning of *ambiance*. He knew that a work of art must capture a mood as well as represent an object. He could not, of course, be at his best in each of 435 plates, but neither was he, as is sometimes alleged by ornithologists, merely "a good bird painter for his day." On the contrary, America has not yet seen his equal.

On the final list of subscribers for *The Birds of America* were 161 names, headed by those of Their Britannic Majesties, Queen Adelaide and King George IV. The total number of sets may have been slightly more than 190, but not all of these were completed because some subscribers paid only for the first few folios and then discontinued. The achievement of Audubon's goal was no less remarkable as a business undertaking than the production of the 435 original plates was as a combination of science and art. Through his own zeal and indomitable drive, he actually received payments totalling about \$200,000, an extremely large sum for the period of well over a century ago.

Publication of Audubon's text, or "letterpress" as he called it, began in 1831, the fifth and final volume appearing in 1839, less than a year after the last part of the plates. It is the famous *Ornithological Biography*, followed by a subtitle of nearly forty words.

For preparing the more than 3,000 pages in this great work, Audubon needed a collaborator. Swainson was eager to undertake the task provided he might become an acknowledged co-author, with his name on the title page.

With this proposition, however, the American Woodsman would have no truck. He regarded himself as the sole creator of a vast undertaking. Publication of the double-elephant folio was progressing well, and he was determined to stand as sole author



COVER AND TITLE PAGE OF AUDUBON'S "BIRDS OF AMERICA"

Elephant Folio, 4 vols., 1827-38, from Duke of Newcastle's Collection

Gift of Mrs. Harvey Breit and Mrs. Gratia R. Laiser, 1954

In memory of their mother, Gratia Houghton Rinehart

of the *Ornithological Biography*, regardless of how much he needed expert opinion to advise him on the structure and general systematics of birds, and equally to smooth and mould his untutored English into a form that could be tolerated in dignified print.

He was therefore singularly fortunate, as he had been in his engraver, Robert Havell, in obtaining the services of a young and competent fellow-worker, who was willing to regard the arrangement purely as a business proposition and to accept pay of so much per page or part, without demanding even junior authorship. This man was William Macgillivray, who in 1827 had published a creditable paper, "On the Covering of Birds," which was a classification based upon feather characters. In the introduction to the five-volume work, Audubon's bow to his 34-year-old collaborator is as follows:

I feel pleasure in here acknowledging the assistance which I have received from a friend, Mr. William Macgillivray, who being possessed of a liberal education and a strong taste for the study of the Natural Sciences, has aided me, not in drawing the figures of my Illustrations, nor in writing the book now in your hand, although fully competent for both tasks, but in completing the scientific details, and smoothing down the asperities of my Ornithological Biographies.

Macgillivray worked faithfully, rapidly, and harmoniously. He contributed most of the information based upon dissection of specimens, although it has since been pointed out that Audubon likewise kept his eye on all of this aspect of the work and showed a lively and critical interest. Macgillivray also translated Audubon's manuscripts into readable English, usually making the original somewhat more succinct and yet at the same time conserving the flavor and charm. We may say that he lassoed and broke the wild horses of Audubon's words and phrases, but that he still left them good mettlesome steeds.

To the substance of the *Ornithological Biography* we can devote little attention. In the first three volumes the accounts of North American birds are interspersed with 60 anecdotal essays, which Audubon called "Delineations of American Scenery and Manners." The word "manners" means, of course, customs, character, or habits. Audubon's scientific contemporaries of 1820 or thereabouts published articles bearing such titles as *On the Manners of the Nuthatch* and *Manners and Economy of the Pied Flycatcher*. An ornithologist of today would no doubt have entitled the latter paper: "Habits and Ecology of the Pied Flycatcher." Most of the "delineations" are factual, many of deep historical importance. Others are of the nature of glorified dime novels, in which the author, no doubt with tongue in cheek, sentimentalizes, romanticizes, and pulls the long bow to his heart's content.

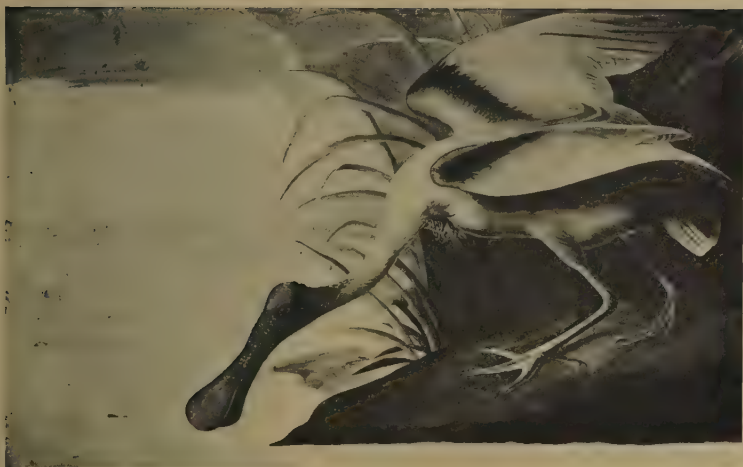
But the biographies of the birds gain stature with the passing of years. They include not only data from the early diaries, but also the heart of Audubon's mature chronicles, written during the visits to Florida, the Gulf of Mexico, and Labrador, which

were undertaken while the *Birds of America* and the *Ornithological Biography* were in process. On the Labrador voyage of 1833 he set down some of his most superb descriptions and impressions.

To a certain extent the biographies, whether in the original format or as the rearranged text of many royal octavo editions of the *Birds of America*, have become a half-forgotten treasure. They are surely replete with information that compilers of later works have not yet used. Many ornithologists have had the experience of making some new discovery in bird behavior, which has proved unknown likewise to their most erudite colleagues, only to find that keen-eyed old Audubon had minutely described the same phenomenon a hundred years before! A case in point is the life history of the beautiful roseate spoonbill, of Florida Bay and the Gulf Coast, which was exhaustively studied just before World War II by Robert P. Allen of the National Audubon Society. Mr. Allen found that of all published accounts of this extraordinary bird Audubon's was the freshest and soundest, as well as one of the most exhaustive.

And this leads naturally to consideration of the great pioneer naturalist's place in what, since about 1904, has been called conservation. For well over half a century "Audubon societies" in this country have labored for the protection of birds, the general fostering of out-door education, and the conservation of all renewable natural resources. The National Audubon Society, with headquarters in New York City, has become one of the most powerful of all influences in this field. To what degree is the name "Audubon" appropriately used in such endeavors?

A superficial inspection of the record would yield only a dubious answer. John James Audubon, who can stir the tenderest emotions in any breast when he recreates birds with his brush or his pen, proves to have been a man imbued with a primordial hunting instinct. In his younger days, at least, he killed tirelessly for sport. The frankness of some of the words in which he expresses his point of view are, in the light of our generation, astounding.



ROSEATE SPOONBILL

Original watercolor by John James Audubon

The New-York Historical Society

For example, he states in one of his journals that it was a poor day's hunting in Florida if he shot fewer than a hundred birds. He sometimes even shot from the deck of a ship, when there was no possibility of recovering his victims. In Louisiana he discovered a new species, the rough-winged swallow, not by first recognizing it as something to investigate, but by idly wondering how many swallows he could kill on the wing before missing a shot. He tried it, and found himself with a pile of little birds hitherto unknown! Once he and his brother-in-law encountered in the woods a 17-foot alligator which they proceeded to slay "for the sake of destruction, I may say," writes Audubon.

This, of course, was still primitive, teeming, "exhaustless" America, when game laws were negligible and bag-limits unimagined. Even on Audubon's summer trip through ancient and well-settled New England, in 1840, he saw great virgin stands of white pine, found the Connecticut River filled with sturgeon, and dined sumptuously on passenger pigeons shot at Plymouth. All this, barely more than a century ago!

As Audubon grew older, he became aware, step by step, that the order of nature was changing with a fast-growing human population, and his own sentiments appear to have undergone a corresponding change. A study of all his publications with the object of tracing the development of his ideas on conservation would be rewarding. In 1828 he wrote: "as time flies Nature loses its primitiveness, . . . pictures drawn in ten, or twenty, or more years, will no longer illustrate our delightful America pure from the hands of its Creator!"

Later he noted the exhaustion of soil in Virginia. "The land . . .," he wrote, "having been constantly forced to produce crops of one kind or other, is now completely worn out. It exhibits only a superficial layer of red clay, cut up by deep ravines, through which much of the soil has been conveyed to some more fortunate neighbor, residing in a yet rich and beautiful valley."

In Labrador he learned in 1833 that the inhabitants catch two-thirds less salmon than ten years before, because they take the fish while both ascending and descending the rivers.

In his account of the passenger pigeon, first published in 1827, he at least forecasts the idea of extermination. While doubting that the holocaust of the birds can directly wipe them from the face of the earth, he adds, "nothing but the gradual diminution of our forests can accomplish their decrease."

On the slaughter of golden plovers, as he observed it at New Orleans on March 16, 1821, Audubon does no moralizing, but it seems as though he understood something of the implications. I quote from the unretouched entry in his journal:

I took a Walk with my Gun this afternoon to see the Passage of Millions of Golden Plovers Coming from the North Est and going nearly South—the distruction of these innocent fugitives from a Winter Storm above us was really astonishing—the Sportsmen are here more numerous and at the same time more expert at shooting on the Wing than any where in the U. States [and] on the first sight of these birds Early this Morning assembled in Parties of from 20 to 100 at Diferent places where they Knew by experience they told me the birds pass and arranged themselves at equal distances squatted on their hams, as a flock



GOLDEN PLOVER

Original watercolor by John James Audubon

The New-York Historical Society

came Near every man Called in a Masterly astonishing Manner, the Birds immediately Lowered and Wheeled and coming about 40 or 50 yards run the Gantlet every Gun goes off in Rotation, and so well aimed that I saw several times a flock of 100 or More Plovers destroyed at the exception of 5 or 6—the Dogs after each Voleys while the Shooters charged their Pieces brought the Same to each Individuals—this continued all day. When I Left One of these Lines of Sharp Shooters then the Sun Setting, they appeared as Intent on Killing More as when I arrived at the spot at 4 o'clock—a Man Near where I was seated had Killed 63 dozens—from the firing before and behind us I would suppose that 400 Gunners were out. Supposing each Man to have Killed 30 Dozen that day 144,000 must have been destroyed.

In the notes from Labrador, written during a memorable summer, we recognize an Audubon with a new perspective. Forty-seven years old, conscious of the foretaste of age yet still at the peak of his intellectual power, smoothed and enriched by associations in the seats of culture and learning, at once inquiring,

contemplative and mellow, he becomes fully conscious for the first time of man's blighting effect upon the pristine world.

During the whole summer, he and his youthful companions collected only about 200 birds, while he toiled long and fatiguing hours at his drawing board. He describes bitterly the slaughter of sea-fowl for fisherman's bait or for eggs, as in his essay on the brutal "Eggers of Labrador." The plights of the seals, the caribou, the marten and sable, and the native Indians are all recognized with a new and deep sympathy. The fur-bearing mammals, he notes, become scarcer with each succeeding year, the Fur Company being the exterminating medium of these wild climes. "Where can I go now," he asks, "and visit nature undisturbed?"

The Labrador journals, like so many earlier manuscripts, were really one long letter to Audubon's beloved Lucy, the woman who must be taken into account in every aspect of his success. For 38 years she was his inspiration, and for 34 of them his constant helpmate, both in America and abroad. She saw him through to the end in 1851, and then lived on for 23 sad years, until both of her sons had followed their father.

I remember a story in which it is told that the Archbishop of Canterbury was endeavoring to inspire Queen Victoria by picturing the royal delights to which she might look forward in Paradise. Her Majesty, he said, would then be able to enjoy a personal exchange of ideas with potentates of the long past. Carried away by his own enthusiasm, he exclaimed: "Think of the joy of conversing with David the King!"

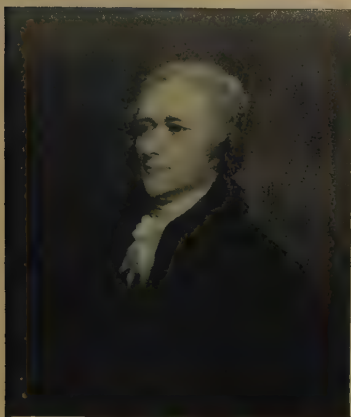
But to this suggestion the good Victorian Queen is said to have responded hotly: "David! I wouldn't *speak* to him!"

I have not quite the same confidence as the Archbishop that I shall have the privilege of communing with ornithologists and natural philosophers of former generations, but, if the opportunity ever comes, I believe that I shall trip over the asphodel in my eager haste to reach Lucy and John James where they sit, side by side, while he paints the fauna and flora of Elysium.

FURTHER ATTRIBUTIONS TO HAMILTON'S PEN*

by PHILIP MARSH

Professor of English, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

By John Trumbull, c. 1802

Gift of Thomas J. Bryan, 1867

AT PHILADELPHIA in 1792 and 1793, Alexander Hamilton used many pseudonyms in articles defending his position as Secretary of the Treasury, his financial policy, and the Washington Administration. He was also intent on discrediting or destroying his chief journalistic enemy, Philip Freneau's *National Gazette*, which he was sure had been founded, and was patronized and directed, by Thomas Jefferson. At Freneau's insinuations or criticisms from spring to fall in 1792, Hamilton bristled, often

with a pseudonymous reply in the public press. Then, driven to silence by James Monroe (with the help of James Madison)¹ and harrassed by Republicans trying to force him out of office, he remained relatively quiet until the summer of 1793, when he burst forth again in defense of the administration, only to be laid low by yellow fever in September.

Some of his pen names are well known: "An American," "Catullus," "Pacificus," and "No Jacobin." Others are acknowl-

* A sequel to Dr. Marsh's "Hamilton's Neglected Essays, 1791-1793," in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1948, pp. 280-300.

¹ Philip M. Marsh (ed.), *Monroe's Defense of Jefferson and Freneau against Hamilton*. (Oxford, Ohio: 1948).

edged in the Lodge edition: "T.L.," "Civis," "Fact," "Amicus," and "Metellus," though not all the instances of their use.² Among those used later (1794, 1796, 1798) was "Detector," apparently employed by Hamilton, as we shall see, in 1792 also. A few pseudonyms are revealed by manuscripts among the Hamilton Papers³—for example, "Scourge" and "Philo Pacificus." Still more items, by a marked similarity in style, besides the "situation" and ideas, may be reasonably considered as probably his work.

Most of these facts were reviewed in a previous issue of this *Quarterly*, with quotations from several theretofore unrecognized Hamilton essays, and others that seem to be his.⁴ There remain, however, a few items to be added, at least conditionally, to his works. Of these, one seems so probable in its use of his later familiar pseudonym "Detector" as to incline us to accept it without question, especially since it is also in Hamilton's style and offers his typical views. The essay appeared in the *National Gazette* on April 9, 1792, weeks before the Freneau-Federalist quarrel exploded. The writer, retorting to "Plain Sense," who had defended the proposed representation bill in the same paper, gave vent to characteristically Hamiltonian sarcasms; there is little doubt that he was Hamilton:

The constitution expressly declares, that the representable numbers of the several states "*shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons* (including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed) *three fifths of all other persons:—*" but *he* boldly excludes those three fifths from all share of representation . . . His doctrine might well suit the . . . N. England states. . . But as well might honest PLAIN SENSE tell us, that no man shall be represented, who does not drink New-England rum, or switchell. . . the above quoted clause of the constitution has fairly kicked down the stool upon which his baby-house was built. . . I shall only observe . .

² Henry C. Lodge (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York: 1904), Vol. VII.

³ At the Library of Congress.

⁴ "Hamilton's Neglected Essays," *op. cit.* Pseudonyms probably Hamilton's are offered: "A Friend to Sober Dealing and Public Credit," "C., " "Candor," "A Friend to the Late Army," and "Ravaillac," along with several unsigned pieces.

that he allows the state of Virginia a share of representation in proportion only to 456,983 persons, whereas the federal number of that state, according to the constitution, is 630,559.

DETECTOR.

There are still other pieces in 1792 and 1793, published in Philadelphia while Hamilton was there, mostly in the newspaper he patronized and wrote for—the *Gazette of the United States*—and some apparently used as semi-editorial paragraphs, which are attributable to Hamilton. Some of these have been referred to in the previous article⁶; others are noted below.

Hamilton did not always sign his short notes. One of these, up to now overlooked, appeared just when Hamilton was becoming angry at Freneau and the *National Gazette* for attacks on the financial system. In this item an "editorial"⁷ from the *National Gazette* is quoted as declaring that there had been no denial of the charge that "members of the general government have carried on *jobs* and *speculations* in their own measures, even *whilst those measures were depending*." Retorting, Editor Fenno of the *Gazette of the United States* inserted the following remarks of "a correspondent" charging the enemies of the government with "malignant effrontery":⁷

Is any individual to suppose himself particularly aimed at, when a general charge is made . . . ? . . . From what too is a man to vindicate himself, when no specific charge is made, no specific fact alledged? Speculation and jobbing, charged in the lump, are as vague as witchcraft and heresy. Any man who expects to put another upon his defence before the tribunal of the public, ought to come forward and alledge that A. or B. has done this or that ill thing—he should lay his finger on the fact; else he can neither mean nor expect to be answered. He makes his charges to *alarm* the community with *ill-grounded* fears, and he affects to complain that they are not answered, to strengthen a *suspicion* which he knows to have no foundation. To such general aspersions it is sufficient to answer generally, that there are many members of the *government*, and among them those who have had a *chief* agency in the measures

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 289–91.

⁷ Editorials and remarks of "correspondents" were often mixed, so that it is hard to tell which is which.

⁷ *Gazette of the United States*, June 4, 1792.

Further Attributions to Hamilton's Pen

most bitterly censured by the FACTION, who can conscientiously and boldly give a flat denial to every imputation of interested or sinister motives—who are absolutely free from everything that is called speculation and jobbing. Who dare compare the whole tenor of their lives and conduct on the score of disinterestedness and exact probity, with any of the most canting pretenders to superior purity among their opponents, and who must ever feel themselves humbled by a comparison on those points with most of those who are loudest in their *harangues* on the love of liberty, and the love of virtue.

This is distinctly in Hamilton's thorough, incisive manner. Fenno never wrote so, being unable to approach Hamilton in carrying a complete sense of conviction.

Still other Hamiltonian protests, signed "C." or printed under "Original Communications," appeared in the *Gazette of the United States* for June 20, 23, and 27, 1792.⁷ Freneau had been pounding away against the funding system, which was close to Hamilton's heart as the key to his program and the whole country's financial soundness.

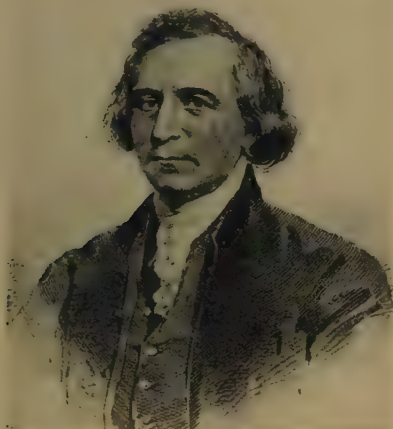
About now Hamilton lost all patience with Freneau, and began making plans to strike back, with harder blows than the *National Gazette* had thrown. He felt he was fighting not merely for his own standing, but also for the safety and integrity of the nation. Greatly disturbed by the speculative fever (mainly in New York) of the preceding spring, and the practice of Republicans in blaming it on his policies, Hamilton concluded that Jefferson, Madison, and their friends were forming an opposition block against the whole administration, and had established the *National Gazette* to discredit it and himself.⁸

Finally he could endure the situation no longer. In the *Gazette of the United States* for July 25, he appeared as "T. L.," insinuating that Freneau, as State Department translator, was editing the *National Gazette* and attacking the government for his translator's salary. In the furore that followed—during which Freneau publicly, and Jefferson privately, denied charges of collusion, bribery, and influence—Hamilton enlarged and persisted

⁷"Hamilton's Neglected Essays," *op. cit.*, pages 289 to 291.

⁸Letter to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792, *Works, op. cit.*, IX, 513.

in the attack. The charges finally narrowed down to Jefferson as an enemy to the Constitution and public-debt payment, Hamilton writing as "An American," "Catullus," "Scourge," "Vivis," "Fact," etc.



PHILIP FRENEAU
(1752-1832)

Early engraving
after a posthumous
portrait, now lost

"Hamilton the Critic" had a quality that most historians and biographers have failed to appreciate. Though generally serious and devoted to the main point, occasionally he "clowned," mocked his opponents, and indulged in questionable slurs. This tendency is clear in his essay signed "Scourge," a brashly disrespectful "razzing" of Jefferson, about which there can be no doubt as to authorship, for the manuscript, in Hamilton's hand, is in the Library of Congress, among his papers. Devotees of Hamilton who read the recently published excerpts from this lampoon¹⁰ may have been shocked to find that he could be at once sarcastic and disrespectful, with the mocking ridicule of a jeering schoolboy. But the "Scourge" piece is by no means unique in this respect. The same tone is evident in enough of his other writings to convince even an ardent admirer that, on the

¹⁰ Considerable portions of this essay, which appeared in the *Gazette of the United States*, September 22, 1792, were quoted in "Hamilton's Neglected Essays," *op. cit.*, pp. 283 and 284. For the whole story of the controversy of which this was a part, see Marsh, *Monroe's Defense . . .*, *op. cit.*

subject of Jefferson at least, Hamilton could use coarse, excessively emphatic terms of denunciation and ridicule.¹¹

For Freneau, however, he exhibited an amused, contemptuous attitude. He thought of the poet as a talented, but imprudent and naive tool of Jefferson, yet one to be fought, as all too likely to succeed in deceiving the public. And so he "exposed" him, writing as "An American"¹² and, at about the same time, as "C." The first Hamiltonian slap at Freneau under the latter pseudonym appeared in the *Gazette of the United States*, June 20, 1792, in prose.¹³ Then, on August 15th, "C." showed himself in the same paper as a poetaster, mocking Freneau's verse satire on wealth:¹⁴

CONSISTENCY!

"HONOR and shame from no condition rise,"
Says POPE—but *modern* patriots say he lies—
For if the wayward dame
Should point the way to fame;
And one of Crispin's cobling race
Should quit his last to join the chace
And overtake the goddess as she runs,
'Bout "*boots*, and *straps*, and *awls*," our ears their poet stuns.

Patriots of philosophic phiz,
Who make the very air to whiz,
With canting notes that "men are equal,"
How little you regard the sequel.
"Merit is all"—but *Crispin* in a coach,
You load with obloquy and foul reproach;
So *modern* patriots rave, till in a sweat,
Then game for thousands—and ne'er pay a debt.

C.

This was soon followed by an unsigned poem, of a similar mood and crudity, a parody of Freneau's of August 4, "To the National Gazette." The first two stanzas follow:¹⁵

¹¹ See, for instance, his jibes in the pieces signed "Catullus" (*Works, op. cit.*, VII, 270, 283) and his letter of January 16, 1801, to James Bayard (*Ibid.*, X, 413).

¹² See *Works, op. cit.*, VII, 231, 236, 243.

¹³ See "Hamilton's Neglected Essays," *op. cit.*, p. 289.

¹⁴ On August 11, 1792, Freneau had published in the *National Gazette* an apparent satire on Washington's ornate coach.

¹⁵ *Gazette of the United States*, August 25, 1792. The term "----'s" is doubtless intended to be read as "Freneau's."

THE NATION'S GAZETTE.
A PARODY.

DUP'D as the greatest fool is he,
The man who pins his faith on thee;
Whose columns lies and slander swell,
And a long list of woes foretell.

Whate'er you touch—its hue is chang'd;
The order of the world derang'd—
And wretched trash, from _____'s pen,
Would bring old Anarch's reign again.

Later on, "C." reappeared in prose, mocking Freneau's publication of a poem in French, as if he could not translate it.¹⁶ This essay is definitely in the Hamilton manner; it is thus not stretching the credulity too much to envision his authorship of the verse by "C."—and possibly the similar unsigned verse above.

At the turn of 1793, retorting to praise of Jefferson by "Mirabeau" (probably Beckley), a caustic unsigned paragraph appeared in Bache's *General Advertiser* that sounds too much like Hamilton to be ignored:¹⁷

So, Mr. Bache, it appears that the Colossus of liberty is to be removed—that is, the Secretary of State is going to resign—What shall we do? It is plain that there is but one distinguished republican in the United States for the public to fix its eye upon to contrast with the gaudy insects of a monarchical sun. . . . what an inundation of monarchy, aristocracy, arrogance, splendor and inequality will overflow the country! . . . unless George shall place himself under the absolute controul of philosophy without principle, and make *Caesar** the heir apparent, there shall be a transfer of the pretended attachment of every pretended friend to equality in the United States, from *his* person and administration to the Lord knows who—perhaps to the *colossus* of liberty. . . . *His* UNITY of conduct—*his* dignified republican simplicity, *his* ENMITY to fastidious distance and reserve—*his* respect for the PEOPLE . . . make the event of his resignation to be *deplored*. . . . Gentle reader, call not the foregoing a rhapsody of nonsense—it is perfectly clear and intelligible to those who can understand the unintelligible jargon of Mirabeau—for, after making all his *geese, swans*, there appears to be but one swan in the whole flock.

*Julius Caesar was the greatest leveller among the Romans—the greatest voluptuary, and the greatest tyrant.

¹⁶ *Gazette of the United States*, November 10, 1792. Quoted in "Hamilton's Neglected Essays," *op. cit.*, p. 296.

¹⁷ January 12, 1793. The *General Advertiser* later became known as the *Aurora*.

Another essay in Bache's paper, two days later, by "Tristram," but in the same style, "congratulated" the Pennsylvania Senate, and then sneered at the Federal Senate, which was just then trying to oust Hamilton—that is, the Republicans in it:

I heartily congratulate you upon the *firmness* which you have discovered in your opposition to a joint vote for a senator to represent this state in the Senate of the United States—The people have *exalted* you to senatorial or patrician dignity, & you would illy acquit yourselves if you did not stand fast in that *consequence* wherewith they have invested you—there is a wide difference, as you well know, between a Senator, and a member of the house of Representatives—a senator is untinctured with the vulgar principles or prejudices, as he is several degrees removed from the mob, and has his mental powers improved in a direct ratio with the distance—What was the object of ingrafting a senate upon our government if it was not to have that inundation of wisdom which would necessarily gush from such a source. . . .

Then in June of 1793, reviewing cynically the public enthusiasm for Genet, the newly arrived French ambassador, "Vindex"—who sounds very like Hamilton—minimized it all with a sneer.¹⁸

If a group of persons, say forty or fifty, calling themselves the citizens of Philadelphia, should straggle out towards Gray's ferry, no matter what the pretence—we are sure to be told the next morning, that the roads were crouded.—If a hundred meet in the evening to chuse a committee, the number as if by magic encreases immediately to thousands! . . . When a man for instance can stand upon his head as well as his feet, he is called a staunch *Patriot*.—When he advises and not unfrequently abuses the President, he becomes a *Democrat*.—When he attends to every body's business but his own . . . he acquires the appellation of a good *Citizen*—but, when he has brought himself to approve of assassination—to consider religion and morality as of no importance—to publish atrocious libels under the signatures of "*Veritas*," "*Old Soldier*," &c. and has had his brows enriched with the famous red, travelling cap, then indeed, and not until then is he considered as having reached the summit of all earthly dignity, a *JACOBIN!!!* . . .

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¹⁸ *Gazette of the United States*, June 19, 1793. "Veritas" and "An Old Soldier" were pseudonyms for the *National Gazette* writers—probably Beckley and Freneau—attacking administration policies, particularly the "neutrality" proclamation as to France and England, now at war. See P. M. Marsh, "John Beckley—Mystery Man of the Early Jeffersonians," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, January, 1948.

In July, at the height of the dispute over France and England, when Hamilton was writing his famous *Pacificus* papers defending our foreign policy, an unsigned item in his manner pilloried American radicals:¹⁹

MR. FENNO,

It is recommended to the public spirited citizens to establish a Robin-hood debating Society—Important points of legislation could be settled cheaply at a tavern—Doubts could be unravelled, and the threads of sophistry unsnarled. . . . The orators, after having ventilated their lungs by discharging the inflammable air in speeches against the abuses of our vile government, the gambling money schemes, the bank speculations, courtly corruptions and pandemonium abominations of the crew in office, could sit down to rest their weary and disgusted virtue with a rubber at *whist*. . . . The symphonies of Bedlam, the ferocious screams, the ear-piercing yells could be nicely practised over beforehand, like the rehearsal of a tragedy. . . .

And finally "C." came to life again with a retort to "Jonathan Pindar" (St. George Tucker of Virginia), who had been writing clever verse satires mocking the administration:²⁰

TO JONATHAN PINDAR,

Poet Laureat to the National Gazette.

P——, in spite of all your puffers say,
Your Odes for th'reading do not compensate;
The paper, ink, and time are thrown away;
The pastry-cooks will scarce arrest their fate.
Your boast of kindred to th'immortal bard,
Who lashes folly in celestial note,
May to the Jack-daw's strutting be compar'd,
Cloath'd in the bird of Juno's golden coat.
The essence of ten thousand thousand dozen,
Such spurious Pindars, if condens'd in one,
Would never make his hundred thousandth cousin,
There's neither flesh nor spirit, blood nor bone.

C.

¹⁹ *Gazette of the United States*, July 10, 1793.

²⁰ *Gazette of the United States*, August 24, 1793. At that time, it was supposed that Freneau was the author of the popular poems by "Jonathan Pindar." Thus the opening "P——" probably is meant to be read "Phil." John Wolcot, the English satirist, was now being reprinted all over America; he satirized, among many subjects, King George. His pseudonym was "Peter Pindar."

Though Hamilton certainly may have written such verse, the author was hardly a poet. "C." and his congenial friends "Detector," "Catullus," "An American," and "Scourge" are more readily identifiable by their common characteristic, prose style.

Hamilton's prose is easily recognized in its original milieu. There, its distinctive qualities are almost too evident—incisiveness, thorough logic, exceptional clarity and force, and an imperious, contemptuous authoritarianism. No other political writer of his time used a style closely resembling his—and so the problem of recognition is greatly simplified. Thus though there is no positive proof, the unsigned essays of the time and place, and those bearing new signatures, carrying his style and ideas, may justifiably be entertained as his. Herewith have been presented six distinctly Hamiltonian essays and three examples of quite possible Hamilton political verse—all of which may well be ascribed to him, at least "conditionally." Doubtless more discoveries can yet be made in the files of newspapers to which he might have contributed.

In Philadelphia, during the exciting years of 1792 and 1793, Hamilton saw, for the first time, the structure of his financial system seriously threatened and the very idea of a strong central government questioned. Naturally he struck at the supposed source of the threats—Jefferson—and incidentally at his powerful publicity "agent," Freneau. In so doing, he took no pains to conceal his characteristic manner, typified in known essays signed "T. L.," "An American," "Metellus," "Fact," "Civis," "Catullus," "Pacificus," and "No Jacobin." It was with the same spirit that he evidently wrote other signed, similar, but unauthenticated pieces, and still others like them, but unsigned, and very likely some bits of caustic verse—all in the same style, defending the same principles, and attacking the same men and ideas.

MONEY CIRCULATING IN NEW YORK PRIOR TO 1704

A REPORT SUBMITTED BY CADWALLADER COLDEN, M.D.

Edited by PAUL M. HAMLIN

*Professor of Law, New York Law School
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IN 1721 James Alexander, newly appointed Attorney General of the Province of New York, determined to compel the payment of quitrents long overdue from the grantees of land in the Colony. As a beginning to this end, and with the full support of Governor Burnet and Council, *Bills* against two prominent citizens, Peter Fauconnier and Lancaster Symes, were filed in the provincial High Court of Chancery.¹ Payment of all rents owed by these two residents prior to January 1, 1704 [1704/5], as well as subsequently thereto, was demanded.

Both causes came up on March 1, 1722/3, with *Bills* and *Answers* in and with Counsel for all parties praying that a day to be heard might be set.² After long delays, an occurrence then so

¹ *Dom Rex cont. Peter Fauconnier, and, Dom Rex cont. Lancaster Symes. Orders in Chancery Begun the 22d of December Anno 1720 and Ending the 5: June 1735, passim.* Chancery Room, Court of Appeals Hall, Albany, N. Y. These causes first came before the Court on December 20, 1721 at which time each defendant was given six weeks additional time to answer. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. Other early chancery records in the New York Court of Appeals Hall are: *Orders in Chancery, September 4, 1701 to May 14, 1702; Orders in Chancery, March 29, 1705 to September 16, 1708; Orders, Minutes and Proceedings, Court of Chancery, Province of New York, May 13, 1748 to Mar. 30, 1770.* File papers of the High Court of Chancery of the Province of New York, some from as early as 1683, totaling more than 2,600 in number, are also located in the Court of Appeals Hall. The remaining records of the provincial court of chancery are located in the Hall of Records, City of New York.

During the 1720's *Bills* demanding payment of quitrents were filed in the High Court of Chancery against a number of property owners. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these were the actions against *The Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the Dutch Church of New York*, and against a large group of residents of Kings County—Cornelius Wyckoff, Hendrick Willemse, Eldert Lucasen, Isaac Snedeker, John Fleet, Garret Strycker, Stophel Prolasco, Rem Remse, John Willemse Kornel, Anke Remerse, Evert Van Wycklen, John Bennet, Jacobus Hegeman, Peter Mumfort, Katherine Hegeman, Maritie Bloom, Joseph Hegeman, and Peter Lott. *Orders in Chancery, 1720-1735*, pp. 174-178; 191-207.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

common to the practice of the New York Court of Chancery, the matters at issue came on for final hearing on September 4, 1724.⁸

These were no ordinary causes. The parties involved were well-known officers of the Crown and important personages in the life of the Colony. Every man of property and of business in New York knew them well. They typified a considerable group in whose names the ownership of a fair portion of the best soil of the Province was listed. The outcome of these causes, moreover, promised directly to affect each member of this group. Should the Court of Chancery enter commandatory decrees for the Crown, then the quitrents stipulated to be owed under the numerous grants and patents bestowed during the preceding forty years or longer must be paid. The patentees hoped for favorable decisions and, to insure that they should be, eminent counsel had been retained. Pressure, also, undoubtedly was brought to bear upon the Chancellor, Governor Burnet. The *Minutes* of the Court conclusively show that the arguments on both sides were extensive. The *Decree* that was made, however, belied anticipation.

Since the matters alleged against both defendants and the contents of the *Answers*—except for incidentals—were identical, the Court in its *Decree* treated the two causes similarly and adjudicated them simultaneously. A portion of its decretal order directly affecting Fauconnier states:

Whereupon and upon Debating the Matter & hearing what was alleged by Council On both Sides This Court Did Think fitt And So Doth Order & Decree First that this Defend^t Peter Fauconnier do pay all the Arrears of Quitt Rents Confessed by his Answer to be due before the first of January One Thousand Seven hundred & four to the Receiver Generall In Money According to the Rate or Rates It was Cur-

⁸ Richard Bradley superseded James Alexander as Attorney General of New York on March 14, 1722-3. *New York Council Minutes (Mss.)*, 14:123. Manuscript and History Section, New York State Library, Albany, N. Y. The Attorney General handled the cases for the government while May Bickley, until his death in April 1723, was counsel for defendants. Thereafter, possibly earlier, counsel for the defendants was David Jamison.

rent at pr Ounce at the Severall Days of Payment when the Same became Due, which Said Rates must be Tryed by a Jury to be Empannell'd for that Purpose at the Next Supream Court of Judicature to be held for this Province at the City of New York. Secondly That the Defend^t Do pay all the Arrears of Quitt Rent Confessed by his Answer to be due Since the first of January Seventeen hundred & four To the Present Time In Money at the Rate at which the Same Is Made Current by the Late Queens Proclamation bearing Date the Eighteenth of June One Thousand Seven hundred & four.⁴

Apparently at this stage in the proceedings the attention of the Court was called to the fact that a jury of ordinary citizens of the City of New York would know little of the values of moneys circulating in the Colony prior to 1704 or have few sources of information concerning such values.⁵ Aware of this situation Chancellor Burnet turned to one of his fellow countrymen, the Scotchman Cadwallader Colden, a member of his Council, and issued a supplemental Order of which a portion reads:

⁴ *Orders in Chancery, 1720-1735*, p. 87. A repetition of the findings, orders and decrees of the Court follows this order.

Fauconnier in his *Answer* confessed he owed:

<i>Year of Grant(s)</i>	<i>Annual Rent due</i>	<i>Year of Grant(s)</i>	<i>Annual Rent due</i>
1701	£29.11.3+	1705	£21.4.0.
1702	15.0.0.	1706	14.11.3+
1704	10.11.3+	1708	19.8.7+
Various Times	57.19.6	(Various tracts in the City of New York.)	

Fauconnier alleged that in 1706, while he was acting "commissioner for executing the Office of Receiver General" of the Province, he had paid £40.12.10 in quitrents. From the records it is not clear how he figured the total amount due, but he claimed he owed the Crown the sum of £1007.18.0. In his *Answer* Symes set forth his grants, as had Fauconnier, and claimed that altogether he owed the sum of £861.1.6, and 24 beaver skins. (*Ibid.*, pp. 69 *et seq.*)

⁵ As a part of his *Answer* Fauconnier had stated: "That after the Date of Severall of the Said Patents the currency of Money In this Province was Altered by Proclamation In the Year 1704 from what It had been before, and made Current at a Lower Rate, which Continued till Afterwards. That his Majestie Confirmed Some Acts of Assembly of Colony wherein the Currency of Money of this Province Is said to be at Eight Shillings pr Ounce as it was before the Said Proclamation, And that for that Intervening time & Since the Last Alteration of the Currency of Money In this Colony, The Receiver Generall (as he Is Informed) Insisted on & Received from some of his Majesties Subjects Their Quitt Rent In Proclamation Money and from Others, Att the Rate of Eight Shillings pr Ounce & not after the Rate of the Currency then In usage which puts him to Great uncertainty & Is of Great Consequence the Difference of the Money being One Intire Sixth Part, And prays he may Pay In the Present Currency, and Not be burthened with the whole, & what is not fairly due. . . ." *Orders in Chancery, 1720-1735*, p. 86.

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... And Afterwards to witt on The Same fourth Day of September In the Eleventh Year of the Reign of Our Lord the King Aforesaid on the Joynt Motion of The Attorney Gen^l & the Defendants Council It is Ordered & Referred to Cadwallader Colden Esq^r. one of The Masters of This Court to Settle The Currency of Money In This Province before The Late Queens Proclamation And That the Tryall by The Jury be Stayed Till The Said Master has made his report to this Court Pursuant To Which Said Order The Said Cadwallader Colden made His Report & Certified The Same Into this Court.^o

As this entry states, Colden made an investigation, and on November 24, 1724, he submitted his report⁷ and filed it with the Register of the High Court of Chancery. On the eleventh of the following month it came up for consideration. The Minutes of the Court under that date read:

Present Gov. W^m Burnet
Cadwallader Colden } Esq^{rs}. Masters
Robert Lurting }

WHEREAS by an Order of this Court of the 4th Day of September Last past It was Ordered & Referred to Cadwallader Colden Esq^r. one of the Masters of This Court To Settle The Currency of Money In This Province before the 1st of January Anno Dōm 1724 Now Upon Opening of the Matter This Present Day unto This Court by His Majesties Said Attorney Gen^l It was alleaged That The said Master Had made His Report Thereon & fyled The Same with the Register of this Court & prayed That The Same Report might be Read & Confirmed & That one of the Masters of This Court might Tax The Compl^{ts} Costs In This Cause—WHEREUPON & upon Hearing the Said Report Read which Is In These words following Viz^t^o

Dated The 24th. Nov^r. 1724

BETWEEN his Majesties Attorney Generall of the Province of New York for and on behalfe of his Majestie Complainant, and Peter Fauconnier Gent. Defend^t.

And the Same ag^t. Lancaster Symms another Deft.

IN Pursuance of an Order of this Court made the fourth day of September last upon hearing Judgment then given in this Cause I have in the presence of the said Attorney Generall who Appeared before

^o *Ibid.*, p. 136. September 4, 1724.

⁷ Colden's Report is to be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120, 121-124, 137-140, 142-144. The original report is on file in the New York County Clerk's Office, Hall of Records, Manhattan, City of New York. It is to be found among the collection of file papers in the cause of *The King cont. Peter Fauconnier*.

^o See note 7.

me in behalfe of his Majestie, And David Jamison Esq.^r who at the Same time Appeared before me as Councill for and in behalfe of the Defend^{ts}., Enquired into and Consider'd of the Matters to me Referred AND Do find That S^r. Edmund Andros the first time he was Governour of the Province of New York^o Encouraged Severall persons Residing within the Said Province to Trade to fforeign parts, By Means of which Trade Gold and Silver Moneys were first Imported into the Said Province, AND from that time Spanish Gold and Silver Coins became Current within the Same Province (Viz^t.) Peeces of Eight at Six Shillings, halfe Pieces at three Shillings, Double Reals or Double Bitts at Eighteen pence, Single Reals at Nine pence & Pistoles at twenty four Shillings, AND that Some time before the Year Sixteen hundred Ninety three the Current Money of the Said Province began to be very much Diminished in its Intrinsick Value by Clipping, The light & heavy Money then passing Indifferently in Common Payments The Merchants then Residing within the Said Province began to give an Advanced price for heavy pieces of Eight in Order to Export them to Other parts where they Disposed of them at a higher rate according to their weight, AND that the Said Merchants likewise made an Advantage in Exporting those that were very light to Other parts where they passed by tale, Which Practices Occasioned the lessening as well as Debasing of the then Current Coin within the Said Province And Severall Other Inconveniencys. TO Remedy which I find by a Minute of the then Council for the Said Province, Dated the Twenty third of March in the Year of our Lord Sixteen hundred ninety two,¹⁰ That a Proclamation was Order'd by the then Governour and Council to Issue for fixing the Currency of pieces of Eight, to a certain Standard of Weight And do find that a Proclamation dated the twenty fifth day of March Sixteen hundred ninety three Issued Accordingly—Whereby the Said Governour Did Direct Order and Declare in the following words, That WHEREAS whole pieces of Eight of the Coins of Seville, Mexico, and Pillar, pieces of the Weight of fifteen penny Weight not plugg'd, are Current and pass in all payments of Money at the Rate of Six Shillings per piece. ALL pieces of Eight of the Coins above Exprest of Greater Weight than fifteen penny weight not plugg'd Shall be Current and pass at the Rate of four pence halfe penny for Each penny weight more than fifteen penny weight not plugg'd over and above Six Shillings as aforesaid, AND also That all pieces of Eight of the Coins above Named of lesser weight than fifteen penny weight not plugg'd Shall be Current and pass as aforesaid at the rate of Six Shillings abating only four pence halfe

⁹ 31 October 1675 to 16 November 1677.

¹⁰ 23 March 1692 3, *Calendar of Council Minutes [of New York], 1668-1783* (New York State Library, *Bulletin* 58, April 1901, History 6), 6:181: "Proclamation, concerning the value of coins to issue." At the time, Benjamin Fletcher was Governor of New York.

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penny for Each penny Weight they Shall be under and wanting of fifteen penny weight as aforesaid AND further that all whole pieces of Eight of the Coin of Peru not plugged Shall be Current and pass at the rate of four pence for Each penny weight Such pieces of Eight of Peru Shall Weigh AND I find by the Same Proclamation That Dollars Called Dog Dollars were made Current at five Shillings & Six pence Each,¹¹ AT which rates pieces of Eight Continued Current till after the Year Seventeen hundred and four But that Reals and Double Reals or Quarter pieces continued (as then formerly) to pass at the rate of Six Shillings pr piece of Eight without weighing, AND that Pistoles did likewise pass at Twenty four Shillings Each till after the Year Seventeen hundred and four.¹² ALL which I Humbly Certifie and Submitt to the Judgment of this Honourable Court.

[Signed:] CADWALLADER COLDEN MC [Master in Chancery]

This report was ordered ratified and confirmed, no objection to it having been made.¹³

Subsequently the question of costs having been referred to Colden as Master in Chancery, a report covering both causes in dispute was filed.¹⁴ It found Fauconnier's to be £145.15.7+ which the Master modified to £96.7.11+. In the Symes case the costs amounted to £142.19.9+, but were modified to £94.11.3+.¹⁵ Sometime later defendants were ordered to pay the overdue quitrents to the Receiver General, Archibald Kennedy, at the Custom House, and the costs of suit to the Attorney General, Richard Bradley, at his house in the City of New York.

Thus there came to an end one of the most notable controver-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 6:183: "Value of 'dog dollars' fixed." For the 1694 "Regulations of money scales and weights," see *Ibid.*, 7:73.

¹² See extract of a letter dated November 2, 1704 from Captain Thomas Wenham to the Lords of Trade raising objections to the value of money established by the proclamation in relation to the then cost of living. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, IV:1119.

¹³ See *Orders in Chancery, 1720-1735*, p. 141. On the outside of the original report the Register of the Court wrote: "The King ag^t. Fauconnier & Symes } Masters Report Setting the Currency before y^e Year 1704 Fyled Decb^r. y^e 11th. 1724." A copy had been ordered filed in the office of the Secretary of the Province on the 26th of the preceding November. *Calendar of Council Minutes of the Province of New York*, 14:402.

¹⁴ This report may be found among the file papers in the cause of *The King cont. Peter Fauconnier*, Hall of Records, City of New York.

¹⁵ Since the Register of the Court of Chancery was paid in accordance with the number of folios he used in entering the orders, findings and decrees of the Court, it was to his pecuniary advantage to recite the matter of the cause in dispute in as

sies in New York colonial history. That its results had a decided effect upon the future status of the High Court of Chancery of the Province of New York the records clearly show. The Court under a forceful Chancellor had given evidence of the power it might yield; thereafter it ruled decisively upon a number of matters of considerable moment. As a consequence, residents of New York who had been affected adversely in their persons or estates by its decrees, or who thought that they might be affected, turned against the Court. From the time of the administration of Governor Montgomerie (1728-1731) until the very close of the colonial period, the High Court of Chancery of the Province of New York was a tribunal that was sought to be held in check by a few of the members of the legal profession who in turn were supported by the colony's powerful citizens. Nonetheless, in settling the kinds and values of moneys of New York prior to 1704, the Court had performed a significant service for the economic life of the Colony. Thereafter whenever in any business or financial transaction it became necessary to determine the values of moneys of that early period, Cadwallader Colden's report was used as the basis of calculations.

many different ways as he could without exceeding the bounds of expense completely. In 1724 Isaac Bobin was Register of the Court. His accepted bills in the Fauconnier case amounted to £24.15.10, and in the Symes action to £24.4.7. Robert Livingston, Jr., Clerk to Fauconnier, submitted a bill of £31.8.0 which was modified to £16.00.00. In the Symes case, the modified bill of that defendant's Clerk, William Sharpas, was £15.15.0.

For services rendered while he was Attorney General, James Alexander charged £31.17.9+, modified to £26.19.7+. And for services rendered while serving in the same capacity, Richard Bradley turned in a bill of £57.13.11+, modified to £28.12.6. In the Symes case the charges after modification of those two officers were £26.5.2+ and £28.6.6, respectively. Among Bradley's charges was the item: "Mocon that the Currency before the 1. Jan. 1704, Order'd to be try'd by a Jury, Might be try'd at Barr the next term." See "Bill of Costs" in *The King vs Lancaster Symes*, Hall of Records, City of New York.

In the Hall of Records, City of New York, papers pertaining to both the Fauconnier and the Symes causes, other than findings and orders of the Court, will be found. The subject matter of each of these papers is similar except that only one original of Colden's *Report on Money* exists.

In the Chancery Room, Court of Appeals Hall, Albany, N. Y., are to be found (a) *Bill* in the Symes case, filed 28th September 1721, and (b) *Answer* in the Fauconnier case, filed 19 June 1723. This was probably a second answer. Original Decrees in these cases have not been discovered. In the Register's Bill of Costs they are stated to have been between 75 and 85 sheets in length.



A SCHOOLYARD "SANDLOT" GAME OF BASEBALL

Photographed by J. G. Vail, Geneva, N.Y., in the 1870s

Courtesy of R. W. G. Vail, the photographer's son

HOW BASEBALL BEGAN

by HAROLD SEYMOUR*

BASEBALL in the United States is both a sport and a business. It is also an important social institution in our complex American society. Recognized as the "national game," it has become a symbol of America in much the same way that the Olympic Games are associated with Greece or cricket with England. Baseball even has a mythology of its own. Part of that myth enshrines its origin. Traditionally, baseball is accepted as a home-grown product; but actually it is no more indigenous to the United States than the automobile or the idea of mass production in factories. The fact that baseball, too, had its inception abroad bolsters a truth frequently overlooked or ignored—that most inventions, ideas, and institutions seldom are the work of one individual in one country.

The myth concerning the origin of baseball began to take shape in the spring of 1889 at famous Delmonico's in New York City, where some three hundred people, including such public figures as Mark Twain and Chauncey M. Depew, gathered to fete the squad of professional baseball players, headed by Albert G. Spalding, just returned from their world tour.¹ Organized baseball had just approached the end of a decade of financial success and increasing popularity in America; and Spalding, then president of the Chicago Club and also head of a thriving sporting goods business, had felt the time opportune for spreading the gospel of the American national game abroad. He therefore had headed a band of professionals, consisting of his own club and a picked group of all-stars from the rest of the National League, on a globe-circling exhibition trip which included stops at Hono-

* Professor Seymour (Ph.D. in history, Cornell University), was born and received his pre-academic training in Brooklyn, where he coached amateur and semi-professional ball clubs, served as batboy for the Brooklyn Dodgers 1925-27, and as scout for the Boston Red Sox. His doctoral dissertation was a history of American baseball. He is now director of Information Services at the University of Buffalo.

¹ *New York Clipper*, April 13, 1889.

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lulu, Australia, and the Pyramids, and a game in England with the Prince of Wales among the spectators.

At the banquet, one of the speakers, Abraham G. Mills, fourth president² of the National League, perhaps made over-exuberant by the occasion, said he wanted it distinctly understood that "patriotism and research" had established that the game of baseball was American in origin. His audience greeted this pronouncement with enthusiastic cries of "No rounders!" Thus, according to the *New York Clipper*, the English claim that America's national game was a descendant of the English game of rounders was "forever squelched."³

The "research" to which Mills referred is somewhat obscure. Perhaps he had in mind the assertions of John Montgomery Ward, a prominent player and lawyer, who had stated unequivocally the previous year that baseball did not spring from rounders, but was a product of the "genius of the American Boy."⁴

But this question as to the birthplace of the game had become a subject for controversy only recently. Prior to the decade of the eighties, rounders had been generally accepted as the ancestor of baseball.⁵ However, after the Civil War, organized teams had attained importance, and baseball evolved from a simple, primitive game into a popular show business. It had gained prestige not unmixed with American pride in having a "national game." Consequently, its devotees found it increasingly difficult to countenance the notion that their favorite sport was of foreign origin. Pride and patriotism required that the game be native, unsullied by English ancestry—even if the rounders theory could be disproved by no stronger weapons than shouting and incantation.

² Mills was not the third president, as generally claimed. After the death of William A. Hulbert, the League's second president, in 1882, A. J. Soden of the Boston Club succeeded to the office for a brief interval preceding the administration of Mills. *Spalding's Official Base Ball Guide for 1883* (New York: 1883), 97. (Published annually 1877-1939 under various titles, but hereinafter referred to as *Spalding's Guide*.)

³ *New York Clipper*, April 13, 1889.

⁴ John M. Ward, *Baseball: How to Become a Player* (Philadelphia: 1888), 21.

⁵ *Beadle's Dime Base-Ball Player* (New York: 1871), 71. Also see Charles A. Peverelly, *The Book of American Pastimes, Containing a History of the Principal Base-Ball, Cricket, Rowing, and Yachting Clubs of the United States* (New York: 1866), 338; and Newton Crane, *Baseball* (London: 1891), 2.

Nevertheless, the rounders idea somehow was not to be "forever squelched." The doctrine persisted, although without clinching evidence. The issue was unresolved for years until brought to focus in an article which appeared in *Spalding's Guide for 1903*, written by the first great baseball sports writer, the "Father of Baseball" and the leading advocate of the rounders argument, Henry Chadwick.⁶ He had always pleaded rounders, claiming that he had played the game in England as a boy, and that early American "town ball" was very similar to it.⁷ Two conspicuous features common to both games, Chadwick pointed out, were the use of four posts for base stations and putting runners out by throwing the ball at them—"soaking" or "plugging," as it was called.

Thus challenged, Spalding, the champion of the American theory,⁸ suggested settling the question once and for all. A blue-ribbon commission was appointed consisting of seven men of "high repute and undoubted knowledge of Base Ball" and including two United States Senators. The committee itself supplied the window-dressing while A. G. Mills, the chairman, did what actual work was done. After collecting testimony over a period of three years,⁹ consisting of recollections but no solid documentary evidence, Mills wrote and presented a report, dated December 30, 1907, to the effect that (1) baseball originated in the United States, and (2) the first method of playing it "according to the best evidence obtainable to date" was devised by General Abner Doubleday at Cooperstown, New York, in 1839.¹⁰

⁶ *Spalding's Guide for 1903*, 5-6.

⁷ Henry Chadwick, *The American Game of Base Ball: How It Is Played* (Philadelphia: 1888), 7.

⁸ Significantly, Spalding contradicted his own assertions in his *Guide for 1878*, 5, where he stated that Englishmen who watched Americans playing baseball "accused them of playing rounders" and were not far out of the way since "the game unquestionably thus originated."

⁹ This material was destroyed in a fire at the American Sports Publishing Company, Warren Street, New York City, in 1911. Robert W. Henderson, *Ball, Bat and Bishop* (New York: 1947), 182.

¹⁰ Francis C. Richter, *Richter's History and Records of Baseball* (Philadelphia: 1914), contains the text of the Commission's report.

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The remarkable part of the report was the dragooning of Doubleday and Cooperstown on the sole basis of the recollections of one Abner Graves, one-time citizen of Cooperstown. His statement was recorded in a press release issued by the commission before its final report which was entitled "The Origin of Baseball."¹¹ Graves described a game of town ball in progress between pupils of Otsego Academy and Green's Select School when

... Doubleday then improved Town Ball, to limit the number of players, as many were hurt in collisions. From twenty to fifty boys took part in the game I have described. He also designed the game to be played by definite teams or sides. Doubleday called the game Base Ball, for there were four bases in it. Three were places where the runner could rest free from being put out, provided he kept his foot on the flat stone base. The pitcher stood in a six foot ring. The ball had a rubber center overwound with yarn to a size somewhat larger than the present sphere, and was covered with leather or buckskin. Anyone getting the ball was entitled to throw it at a runner between bases, and put him out by hitting him with it.¹²

Thus it was that a decision laid down by what has been called "an oecumenical council of baseball hierarchs"¹³ became the basis of an American myth which persisted and continues to live down through the years. The average "fan" who knew or cared anything at all about the beginnings of the game he watched was under the impression that an inspired, spontaneous act by Abner Doubleday created it.¹⁴

¹¹ A copy of the release is in the Abraham G. Mills Papers in the New York Public Library. Other Mills Papers and eight volumes of his Correspondence are in the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Cooperstown, New York.

¹² "Statement of Abner Graves, Mining Engineer of Denver, Colorado, April 3, 1905," in the Abner Doubleday Papers, Cooperstown, New York.

¹³ Rollin L. Hartt, "The National Game," *Baseball Magazine*, II (Boston: August 1909), 42. The hand-picked commission was made up almost entirely of men who were, at one time or other, very prominent in organized baseball, including the two senators. They were Abraham G. Mills, Nicholas E. Young, Alfred J. Reach, George Wright, James E. Sullivan, Arthur P. Gorman, and Morgan G. Bulkeley.

¹⁴ The tale found its way into print also. See for example Ralph Birdsall, *The Story of Cooperstown* (New York: 1917), 224, wherein the writer states that the "solemn form of procedure" (of the commission) "placed the matter beyond doubt." Louis C. Jones, in *Cooperstown* (New York: 1949), 60-61, equivocates, saying that recent historical evidence "appears to be uncontrovertible"; yet he continues to maintain that Graves' testimony "stands unimpaired." Writers' Program of the Iowa W.P.A., "Baseball! The Story of Iowa's Early Innings," *Annals of Iowa*, XXII

Yet it is by no means certain that he ever was in Cooperstown. He was born in Ballston Spa, New York, and attended school at Auburn.¹⁵ If he did enroll at Green's Select School at Cooperstown, he certainly was not a schoolboy there in 1839, as Abner Graves claimed, since he had matriculated at West Point the previous autumn.¹⁶ It may well be that Doubleday had played ball with Graves and others; but if he had any significant or unusual connection with the game it is not revealed in local histories¹⁷ or in Doubleday's writings.¹⁸ It should be noted, too, that Abraham G. Mills had known Doubleday for years, dating from their association as soldiers in the Civil War; yet Mills never mentioned anything about Doubleday's alleged contribution to baseball prior to the publication of the Graves statement. For instance, why did not Mills take the obvious opportunity to proclaim

(Des Moines: April 1941), 626, credited Doubleday and praised the "initiative" that later made him a business leader.

Even the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1944), V, 391, states that Doubleday "created baseball." The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: 1948), III, 1661, the *Encyclopedia Americana* (New York: 1948), III, 302, and *Collier's Encyclopedia* (New York: 1949), III, 214, have accepted the new evidence. *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia* (Chicago: 1948), II, 53, takes a middle ground. More recently, Hy Turkin and S. C. Thompson, *The Official Encyclopedia of Baseball* (New York: 1951), 375, concede that most unbiased probes have been forced to acknowledge the claims of recent historical research. Nevertheless, these authors, along with baseball officials, continue to propagandize Cooperstown as a baseball "shrine"; and, since Cooperstown is irrevocably associated with Abner Doubleday, this is an indirect means of perpetuating the myth.

¹⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 391-392.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ For example, Robert B. Coffin, *The Home of Cooper and the Haunts of Leatherstocking* (New York: 1872); James F. Cooper, *The Legends and Traditions of a Northern County* (New York: 1921).

¹⁸ *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg* (New York: 1882); *Gettysburg Made Plain: A Succinct Account of the Campaign and Battles, with the Aid of One Diagram and Twenty-nine Maps* (New York: 1909); *Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860-'61* (New York: 1876). Doubleday, in recalling his boyhood, makes no mention of interest in baseball:

"You ask for some information as to how I passed my youth. I was brought up in a book store and early imbibed a taste for reading. I was fond of poetry and art and much interested in mathematical studies. In my outdoor sports I was addicted to topographical work and even as a boy amused myself by making maps of the country around my father's residence which was in Auburn Cayuga Co N.Y. [sic]." Abner Doubleday to Dear Sir [?], November 20, 1887, Doubleday Papers, Cooperstown, New York.

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Doubleday's supposed role while addressing that glittering company at Delmonico's on the origin of baseball?

The climax in the perpetuation of the Doubleday story came with the approach of 1939 when the major leagues made elaborate preparations to commemorate the "centennial" of the game. Large and impressive plans were formed for appropriate ceremonies at Cooperstown—and indeed carried out. A Baseball Hall of Fame was dedicated, a pageant portraying the historical highlights of the sport was presented, and an all-star contest between teams composed of baseball's all-time great players was played. All this was accompanied by the usual publicity build-up and fanfare.¹⁹

The United States Government lent its seal of approval when the Post Office authorized a special baseball stamp marking the event.²⁰ However, it did so not because of Doubleday, whose claims admittedly were "questionable," but because the date was "universally recognized in sport circles as marking the centennial"²¹—a rather nice point. Doubleday's picture was cautiously omitted, and a sandlot scene substituted as the central motif with a house, barn, church, and school in the background.²²

Less fortunate, or perhaps more gullible, was a legislative committee of the State of New York charged with studying the situation. This committee held a public hearing at Cooperstown, August 7, 1937, at which representatives of the local chamber of commerce and of the local committee dealing with the problem appeared. According to the official report of the State legislature, "It was put in evidence that Cooperstown, New York, is the birthplace of baseball . . ." and the State committee recommended "that a centennial be properly celebrated at Cooperstown, New York, on the home site of the first game, the inauguration of baseball being the proud heritage of New York."

¹⁹ An illustration is *Cooperstown National Base Ball Museum* (New York: n.d.). A more recent example is John Durant, *The National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum* (Cooperstown, New York: 1949).

²⁰ *Postal Bulletin*, LX (Washington: May 17, 1939), No. 17694.

²¹ Letter of R. S. Black, Third Assistant Postmaster General, April 15, 1939, in Robert W. Henderson, "Baseball: Notes and Materials On Its Origins" (New York: 1940), 55.

²² *Postal Bulletin*, LX (May 17, 1939), No. 17694.

The committee went on to advocate that the event be "advertised and publicized in the pamphlets of the Conservation Department of the State of New York, and by road signs erected under its supervision. . . ." Finally, it was urged that the State of New York "appropriate . . . Ten Thousand (\$10,000) . . . to be used in advertising and generally furthering the baseball . . . celebration."²³

So it was that the Doubleday myth was crystallized and enshrined in concrete form by organized baseball. Actually, the entire edifice, which had always rested upon the flimsy foundation of an elderly man's memory of events sixty-eight years after they supposedly occurred, was constructed and sanctioned in the face of timely and unimpeachable evidence, published in the midst of centennial preparations, that Abner Doubleday had had little or nothing to do with the birth of the game; but rather, that it had sprung from rounders.²⁴ Adding to the difficulty, Bruce Cartwright reiterated an earlier claim that evidence in his possession showed his forebear, Alexander Cartwright, to have been the founder of baseball.²⁵ Although embarrassed and chagrined, baseball officials, having already committed themselves, especially financially, to Doubleday, proceeded according to plan, while sports columnists either pointed out the discrepancy or got around it as gracefully as possible.²⁶

Broadly speaking, no single person invented baseball. The

²³ *State of New York, Report of Joint Legislative Committee to study the Situation Concerning the Inaugural Baseball Game and the Growth of the Sport*. Legislative Document 73 (Albany: 1938). Evidently the Congress of the United States, too, has fallen prey to this story. In its recent investigation, it concludes that baseball "is a game of American origin." "Organized Baseball; Report of the Subcommittee on the Study of Monopoly Power of the Committee on the Judiciary," *House Report*, No. 2002, p. 228, 82d Congress, 2d Session (Washington: 1952).

²⁴ Robert W. Henderson, "Baseball and Rounders," *New York Public Library Bulletin*, XLIII (New York: April, 1939), 303-314. Aside from Henry Chadwick's protests, the first substantial debunking of the Doubleday myth was provided by Will Irwin, "Baseball: (I) Before the Professionals Came," *Colliers*, XLIII (May 8, 1909), 12.

²⁵ Frank Menke, *The New Encyclopedia of Sports* (New York: 1947), 91; Bruce Cartwright to Will Irwin, July 6, 1909, in Doubleday Papers.

²⁶ For example, the *New York Sun*, June 10, 1939, admitted the hoax, but said baseball as an American institution required a legend, so the public would therefore go ahead and take part in the "innocuous conspiracy." Fred Lieb, sports writer, assigned to prepare a feature article on the centennial, admits he faked the story although he knew of the discrepancies in the Cooperstown myth. Frederick G. Lieb, *The Baseball Story* (New York: 1950), 15.

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game was the result of an evolutionary process over a long period of years. It is known that the ball was used from earliest civilization; and the evidence is overwhelming that it was familiar as far back as ancient Egypt and adjacent lands where the ball represented the idea of fertility.²⁷ And of course the Greeks were thoroughly familiar with ball play. It would be difficult to present a stronger argument for ball games than that to be found in Galen's treatise, entitled "Exercise with the Small Ball." E. Norman Gardiner, classical scholar, paraphrases this document as follows:

The best of all exercises . . . are those which combine bodily exertion with mental recreation, such as hunting and ball-play. But ball-play has this advantage over hunting that its cheapness puts it within reach of the very poorest, while even the busiest man can find time to do it. Moreover, it can be practised with any degree of violence or moderation, at all times and in all conditions. It exercises every part of the body, legs, hands, and eyesight alike, and at the same time gives pleasure to the mind. In contrast with athletic exercises, which make men slow or produce one-sided development, ball-play produces strength and activity, and therefore trains all those qualities which are most valuable for a soldier. Finally, it is free from dangers. . . .²⁸

To ascertain who invented baseball would be equivalent to trying to locate the discoverer of fire. But we are here concerned with what has direct bearing on the development of baseball in America, and there is sufficient evidence to indicate that various simple bat-and-ball games were indulged in by the settlers from the first.²⁹ For example, the Dutch of New Netherland played "stool ball," thought to be the forerunner of cricket.³⁰ Even in

²⁷ John A. Krout, *Annals of American Sport, Pageant of America Series*, XV (New Haven: 1929), 114. Also Henderson, *Ball, Bat and Bishop*, 19. The Russians also claim that baseball originated from one of their ancient village games called *lapta*. *New York Times*, September 16, 1952, quoted a Soviet magazine, *Smena*: "It is well known that in Russian villages they played *lapta*, of which *beizbol* is an imitation. It was played in Russian villages when the United States was not even marked on the maps."

²⁸ E. Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London: 1910), 187-188.

²⁹ Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways; Chronicles of American Life During the Reign of the Georges; Chronicle of America Series*, IX (New Haven: 1921), 109.

³⁰ Esther Singleton, *Dutch New York* (New York: 1909), 290.

Puritan New England the play spirit was not as dead as commonly supposed. Ball playing there was sufficiently prominent to be forbidden by Governor Bradford of Plymouth.³¹

Possibly the first record of an American baseball game is that mentioned in the journal of George Ewing, a Revolutionary soldier, who tells of playing a game of "base," April 7, 1778, at Valley Forge.³² Early familiarity with a game called baseball is understandable, for as early as 1744 John Newbery published in London *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book*, containing a rhymed description of "base-ball" along with a small picture illustrating the game.³³ Newbery, a farmer's son, accountant, patent-medicine dealer, and printer, not only was one of the first publishers of children's books, but also tried to please children as well as to improve them—a new and good idea for that time.³⁴ This, like other children's books which followed it, was extremely popular and widely known³⁵—evidence that a game called baseball was familiar to English boys. The book was republished in New York in 1762, in Philadelphia in 1786, and again at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1787.³⁶ Therefore a ball game called baseball was familiar to Americans much before 1839, the year in which Doubleday is credited with christening the game with that name.

The link between baseball and the English game of rounders is no less strong. A compilation of children's games by William Clarke called *The Boy's Own Book: A Complete Encyclopedia of All the Diversions, Athletic, Scientific and Recreative* appeared in London in 1828. A number of editions was published, but the important one is the third, which appeared in 1829. It had

³¹ William Bradford, *Bradford's History "of Plimouth Plantation"* (Boston: 1898),

135.

³² George Ewing, *The Military Journal of George Ewing* (Yonkers: 1928), 35, 47. Cited by Henderson, "Baseball and Rounders," 311.

³³ Much of this portion of the discussion, including the relationship between baseball and rounders, is based upon Henderson, "Baseball and Rounders," 303–314, who published his evidence after the preparations for the Cooperstown ceremonies had been inaugurated.

³⁴ Lady Violet B. Carter, "Childhood and Education," in Sir Ernest Barker (ed.), *The Character of England* (Oxford: 1947), 215.

³⁵ *Idem*.

³⁶ Henderson, *Ball, Bat and Bishop*, 135.

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a description of the game of rounders.³⁷ That same year, 1829, the first American edition of the volume, likewise containing the rules for rounders, was printed. From this source we learn that rounders, a favorite game of western England, was played on a field on which were placed four stones or posts from twelve to twenty yards apart in a diamond-shaped pattern. The number of contestants was not specified; those on hand merely divided into two equal groups. The "out" side scattered about the field more or less haphazardly without taking up set positions, except for the "pecker" or "feeder" (pitcher), who gently tossed the ball a short distance to the "striker" (batter) from a fixed position also marked by a stone or post. The striker, if successful in meeting the ball, ran the bases clockwise as far as he could progress, depending upon the circumstances. Outs were registered when the striker did any of the following: (1) missed three swings (three-strikes rule), (2) hit the ball behind his position (one foul out), (3) had his batted ball caught, or (4) was struck by a thrown ball while attempting to negotiate the bases. The "in" side continued until each of its members had been put out, when the side which had been in the field had its innings.³⁸

So much for the game of rounders as such. The great significance of these rules is that five years after they were published in the United States they were reprinted by a Boston company which, in a book entitled *The Book of Sports*, by Robin Carver, reproduced them practically verbatim, changing only the title from "Rounders" to "Base, or Goal Ball" because, as he said, those were "the names generally adopted in our country."³⁹ By means

³⁷ The game was known variously in England by the names base-ball, feeder, and rounders. The latter name came to be the most commonly used. The first London edition of *The Boy's Own Book* omits rounders. A copy of the second edition has not been located. Copies of the first and third London editions are in the Cleveland Public Library.

³⁸ William Clarke, *The Boy's Own Book* . . . (Boston: 1829). The second American edition appeared in 1834, published in Boston by Monroe and Francis; in New York by C. S. Francis.

³⁹ Henderson dramatized the similarity by placing the texts of the same rules from each book in parallel columns in "Baseball and Rounders," 307; Henderson, *Ball, Bat and Bishop*, 154-157.

of this minor alteration English rounders became American baseball.

Again in 1835 a Providence, Rhode Island, firm published *The Boys and Girls Book of Sports* which likewise contained the rules for rounders as they appeared in *The Boy's Own Book* of 1829, merely substituting the heading "Base, or Goal Ball."⁴⁰ Furthermore, in 1839 yet another sporting book appeared, *The Boy's Book of Sports: A Description of the Exercises and Pastimes of Youth*, published in New Haven. Instead of merely copying previously published rules on baseball, it tried to revise and clarify those already known. In doing so, it introduced for the first time the provision that the bases, laid out to form a "diamond," be run in counter-clockwise fashion.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries many references to ball games having been played are to be found, particularly in diaries and memoirs. Some of these were written at the time, but many are memories of older men recalling boyhood days and are therefore not as reliable as the contemporary accounts. Nor is it always certain which game of ball was played. Nevertheless the evidence is that simple ball games were well known and played in the settled communities along the seaboard, especially in New York and the New England States.⁴¹ Certainly by the first decades of the nineteenth century, ball games were a common sight on the village greens and vacant fields or pastures as well as on college campuses.

So popular was ball in Worcester in 1816 that it was prohibited in the streets⁴²; and according to Thurlow Weed, people in Rochester, New York, busy and industrious as they were, found time for recreation. There, in 1825, a baseball club of fifty members, ages eighteen to forty, met every afternoon during the ball season to play on their eight to ten acres of ground. Weed even lists the best players, among whom were some of the leading citi-

⁴⁰ A photostatic copy is in the New York Public Library.

⁴¹ For examples, see below.

⁴² Jennie Holliman, *American Sports, 1785-1835* (Durham, North Carolina: 1931), 64.

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zens.⁴³ In his journal written in 1835, Cyrus Parker Bradley, born in 1818, admits he never got over his boyhood love of playing and often was told "how ridiculous it was to come from the society of antiquarians and politicians and play ball with boys of six. But it is natural to me, infected by their mood, by my early life."⁴⁴ The mass of boys indulged in playing "goal" in Bangor, Maine, according to Albert Ware Paine in his journal of 1836, recorded when he was twenty-three years old.⁴⁵ And in Rhode Island ball play was performed even on Sunday.⁴⁶

A diary entry by a Princeton student in 1786 alludes to playing "baste ball" on the campus: "A fine day, play baste ball in the campus but am beaten for I miss both catching and striking the ball."⁴⁷ At first, however, colleges discouraged students in the practice of ball playing. At least Princeton did, passing laws in 1787 against ball games on the ground that such were "low and unbecoming gentlemen" and constituted "great danger to the health by sudden and alternate heats and colds and as it tends by accidents . . . to disfiguring and maiming those who are engaged in it. . . ."⁴⁸ Gradually it was found that student disorder and mischief decreased when surplus energy was worked off in games. At Bowdoin in 1824, ball games were initiated by the authorities themselves as a method of reducing sickness. The recommendation was well received and proved beneficial if we can take the word of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, then a student. He wrote that ball playing

. . . communicated such an impulse to our limbs and joints, that there is nothing now heard of, in our leisure hours, but ball, ball, ball. I cannot prophesy with any degree of accuracy concerning the continuance of

⁴³ Thurlow Weed, *Autobiography* (Boston: 1884), 203.

⁴⁴ Cyrus P. Bradley, "Journal of Cyrus P. Bradley," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, XV (Columbus, Ohio: 1906), 211.

⁴⁵ Lydia A. Carter, *The Discovery of a Grandmother* (Newtonville, Massachusetts: 1920), 198, 240.

⁴⁶ James B. Angell, *The Reminiscences of James Burrill Angell* (New York: 1912),

14.

⁴⁷ Varnum L. Collins, *Princeton* (New York: 1914), 207.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.

this rage for play, but the effect is good, since there has been a thorough-going reformation from inactivity and torpidity."

Williams Latham, a student at Brown from 1823 to 1827, discussed his ball-playing experience there, explaining that sports were still unorganized; and that while ball games took place at Brown he did not enjoy them as much as he had at Bridgewater because only six or seven played on a side; hence much time was wasted running after the ball. He also complained of the pitching style because they "did throw so fair ball, They are affraid [*sic*] the fellow will hit it with his bat-stick."⁵⁰ Likewise, at Harvard, where he finished in 1829, Oliver Wendell Holmes played ball.⁵¹ The same was true of George F. Hoar, who played various ball games during his boyhood in the 1830s and, after he entered Harvard in 1842, continued to engage in "the old-fashioned game of base." Hoar specified that chief among the games he played as a boy were four-old-cat, three-old-cat, two-old-cat, and base, games which, as he pointed out, were not very scientific.⁵²

These various ball games had common characteristics. They were all simple, some more so than others. All appealed to the same elementary satisfaction derived from projecting one's power by swatting and throwing an object hard and for distance, or the excitement of the race to arrive safely on the base ahead of the ball. The simplest of these early games was barn ball,⁵³ limited to two players and requiring the smooth side of a building with some level ground in front of it. One boy threw the ball vigorously against the wall; the other, having taken his position about a dozen feet from the wall, struck at the rebounding ball with his bat. Upon connecting he ran to the wall and tried to return be-

⁴⁹ Henry W. Longfellow in a letter to his father, April 11, 1824, in Samuel W. Longfellow (ed.), *The Life of Henry W. Longfellow*, I (Boston: 1891), 51.

⁵⁰ Williams Latham, "The Diary of Williams Latham, 1823-1827" (unpublished) quoted in Walter C. Bronson, *The History of Brown University, 1764-1914* (Providence: 1914), 245.

⁵¹ Krout, *Annals of American Sport*, 115.

⁵² George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, I (New York: 1903), 52.

⁵³ A good description is given in William Clark, *Boys and Girls Book of Sports* (Providence: 1835), 17, 18. (A photostatic copy is in the New York Public Library.)

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fore his opponent recovered the ball and hit him with it. Naturally, they took turns, switching about after the batter was retired, so that each boy had his innings.

Apparently out of the desire to make participation of more boys possible, more advanced variations—the games of “old-cat”—were improvised.⁵⁴ The simplest version of these, “one-old-cat,” was derived from the old English game of “Tip Cat,” wherein a wooden “cat,” like a spindle, was placed on the ground, then tipped in the air and struck with a stick.⁵⁵ “Old-cat” merely substituted a ball for the stick. “One-old-cat” had a batter, pitcher, and two bases. The batter hit from one base, ran to the other, and returned if possible until the ball was caught either on the fly or on one bounce. The number of lads could be increased by playing “two-, three-, or four-old-cat,” which meant simply adding to the number of bases and batsmen. As the number of players increased, the opportunity and necessity for more team play presented itself.

For yet larger numbers of players, the game variously called “town-ball,” “round-ball”—and later “Massachusetts ball” (to distinguish it from “the New York game”)—were devised. These were the Americanized versions of English rounders and were played by large groups ranging anywhere from twelve to twenty or more on a side. Regulations varied since there were no uniform rules; hence each community had its own particular variations—just as present-day sandlot players generally add their own touches to the official rules. One side batted around until each of its players was put out; then the other aggregation had its turn.⁵⁶

The frontier, however, did not nourish sport. The immediate

⁵⁴ Robert W. Weaver, *Amusements and Sports in American Life* (Chicago: 1939), 96–97.

⁵⁵ Henry Chadwick, “Scrap-books, 1858–1902,” 26 volumes in New York Public Library.

⁵⁶ For more detailed description see *The Base Ball Player's Pocket Companion: Containing Rules and Regulations for Forming Clubs, Directions for Playing the “Massachusetts Game” and the “New York Game,” from Official Reports* (Boston: 1859), 20–22. Copies in the Cleveland Public Library and Racquet and Tennis Club, New York City.

battle to subdue the wilderness was too pressing to permit leisure for games. Labor and work, because they were essential, were glorified. The tendency, therefore, was to combine them with play whenever possible.⁵⁷ Necessary work and needed sport frequently were synonymous. Barn-raising or corn-huskings, required tasks, were converted into festive frolics as well. Likewise hunting and fishing were work; but the thrill of sport was not entirely absent. Such pure "sport" as was practised on the frontier was rugged, boisterous and even brutal, like wrestling and eye-gouging. Only when communities became more settled, enjoyed a degree of leisure, and cleared fields or village commons, did ball playing sprout and flourish; and even then sport was impeded by a lingering puritanism which frowned upon frivolity or pleasure.⁵⁸

In New England the belief remained that "play is folly rather than wisdom in a child; and he will soonest be an adult who puts on the adult's gravity," according to a well-known pedagogue of that section. He candidly relates how, due to his own youthful training in this belief, he made a practice, when a teacher, of cheating the pupils of as much time as possible from the fifteen minutes allotted to them at noon for sports. He continues apologetically: "I had not learned so fully as I have since done, that sports are as indispensable to the health of both the bodies and minds of children as their food, their drink, or their sleep. . . ."⁵⁹

Travelers noted the legal restrictions upon amusements; and one remarked upon the "hard precocity" of American youths who entered college at the age of fourteen and left at seventeen with degrees to commence business careers, with no interval to attain either gracefulness or health—"Athletic games and the bolder field sports being unknown."⁶⁰ Enjoyment was associated

⁵⁷ John A. Krout, "Some Reflections on the Rise of American Sport," *Proceedings of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland*, XXVI (Philadelphia: 1929), 86.

⁵⁸ Weaver, *Amusements and Sports in American Life*, 1-2.

⁵⁹ William A. Alcott, *Confessions of a Schoolmaster* (Andover: 1839), 81, 82.

⁶⁰ Allan Nevins, *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers* (New York: 1923), 115, 250.

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with guilt—as illustrated by the Yankee who said he was “going to town, probably git [*sic*] good and drunk, and Lord how I’ll hate it!” This attitude only slowly disappeared; as late as 1862 churchmen succeeded in having ice skating banned in Brooklyn⁶¹; and of course the fight to legalize Sunday baseball took much longer.

In the South, ball playing was carried on, but not to the extent it was in the North.⁶² The pattern of Southern sport tended to be formed by the dominant planter group, whose influence far exceeded its number. The result was an inclination toward aristocratic pastimes like fox hunting. Yet ball play was not as completely foreign to that section as generally thought. A case in point is Moses Waddell’s famous school in South Carolina, where students found relaxation in ball games from the stern classical curriculum.⁶³

Such simple, crude ball games as those described were played on a local, neighborhood basis and were admirably suited to the young, primarily rural America of the period. Few had great wealth or leisure. Playing sites were plentiful and convenient. Only the rudest preparation was necessary—laying “goals” or bases by driving sticks into the ground or placing flat rocks at approximate distances. Equipment requirements were minimum both in amount and cost. Any stout stick, wagon tongue, ax or rake handle made a capital bat; and a serviceable ball could be had by winding yarn around a buckshot or chunk of india rubber and then sewing on a leather cover, perhaps cut to size by the local shoemaker, to prevent unwinding.⁶⁴ No other paraphernalia were needed. Availability of ample space, a negligible amount of inexpensive equipment, and the simple structure of the games

⁶¹ “When Wholesome Sport Was Taboo,” *The American City*, LII (New York: October, 1937), 87.

⁶² Holliman, *American Sports, 1785-1835*, 67.

⁶³ Colyer Meriwether, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina, with a Sketch of the Free School System* (Washington: 1889), 39.

⁶⁴ *Porter’s Spirit of the Times* (New York), December 27, 1856. Also see William H. Venable, *A Buckeye Boyhood* (Cincinnati: 1911), 126, and James D’W. Lovett, *Old Boston Boys and the Games They Played* (Boston: 1906), 129. A ball of this early period is exhibited at the Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Cooperstown, New York.

made for popularity and wide participation. In short, the various ball games were adapted to their surroundings and in fact mirrored them.

Another feature of early nineteenth-century ball was the fact that it was overwhelmingly a participant's game. Relatively few watched; and the promoter who sold baseball games as entertainment was not to appear until a later day when American society became urbanized. This meager attendance at games and their non-commercial character are reflected in the paucity of detailed information and lack of descriptions of games in the press of the day. For example, even in 1843, an advertisement announcing the forthcoming publication of a "new and comprehensive" weekly sporting paper listed more than twenty sports it would cover, such as racing, hunting, shooting, fishing, rowing, pedestrianism, pugilism, "cricketing," skating, swimming, billiards, etc., but omitted any intent to report on ball playing.⁶⁵

The same applied to a leading theatrical and sports journal of the day, which contained lengthy indices of items pertaining to cricket during the 1840s, whereas baseball was disregarded.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the absence of team play in any real or highly developed sense is to be noted; doubtless this was due to the fiercely individualistic atmosphere of a society in flux, which lacked any permanent stratification, and in which democracy was the byword. Sufficient sophistication for highly developed team play was lacking in America prior to the Civil War.

The simplicity, informality, and absence of organization in the game, plus the fact that it was not given headline attention in the contemporary press, enhanced the recreative values of ball playing, so that even the ascetic though progressive school-teacher, William A. Alcott, confessed: "Our most common exercise was ball playing. In this, I was not very expert; but I believe I had all the healthful advantages which pertain to it, notwithstanding. It is really an excellent sport."⁶⁷

⁶⁵ *Spirit of the Times; A Chronicle of the Turf, Field Sports, and the Stage* (New York), May 6, 1843.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* (1840s), *passim*.

⁶⁷ Alcott, *Confessions of a Schoolmaster*, 295.



CHANCELLOR ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON (1746-1813)

Painted at Paris by John Vanderlyn, 1804

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Livingstone, 1876

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON COLLECTION

by WAYNE ANDREWS, *Curator of Manuscripts*

ALONZO POTTER was a remarkable member of a remarkable family in the annals of the Episcopal Church. Himself the Bishop of Pennsylvania, he was the brother of Horatio Potter, Bishop of New York, and the father of yet another bishop of our state, Henry Codman Potter. But this is not all that may be said in favor of the Bishop of Pennsylvania. He was interested in the care of manuscripts as well as that of the souls in his charge.

On the 17th of August, 1853, Alonzo Potter warned the grandchildren of Chancellor Livingston that it would be a calamity if they split up, as they intended, the collection of their grandfather's manuscripts. "Divided into two parts, the papers would have little value. Kept together . . . they would be treasures indeed."

As readers of the *Quarterly* are well aware, the Livingstons heeded the Bishop's advice against dispersing the Chancellor's papers. In 1954, 101 years after Alonzo Potter made his happy suggestion, the last of the collection was transferred to the Society by Mrs. Goodhue Livingston, her husband having given the first lot in 1950.

Though the Livingston Collection will not be in complete order for some time—a double check must be made before the calendar is begun—it is possible to convey at present an idea of the riches awaiting scholars in the fields of colonial and federal history. There are approximately 21,000 items in the collection of which approximately 6,000 are of outstanding interest. For these 6,000 items cards have been made and entries will be listed in the calendar.

Mr. George Dangerfield, winner of the Pulitzer Prize for his recent *Era of Good Feelings* is already at work on a biography of the Chancellor based on the papers.

Highlights of the Robert R. Livingston Collection

Among the highlights of the collection are the following letters from outstanding individuals addressed to Chancellor Livingston and other members of the Livingston family. (The retained drafts of the Chancellor's own letters—not listed here—run into the thousands.)



CLERMONT

"Seat of Mrs.
Livingston"

Pen sketch by
Alexander
Robertson
14 Sept. 1798

*Gift of Mrs.
Goodhue Living-
ston, 1956*

<i>Author of Letters</i>	<i>Inclusive Dates</i>	<i>No. of Items</i>
ARMSTRONG, John (1758-1843)	1789-1810	9
BARBÉ-MARBOIS, François Marquis de	1780-1810	34
BENSON, Egbert	1777-1793	17
BONAPARTE, JOSEPH	1801-1839	7
BOUDINOT, Elias (1740-1821)	1783	5
BRUNEL, Sir Marc Isambard	1801-1802	2
BURR, Aaron	1784-1801	19
CARTER, John (alias John Barker Church)	1777	11
CLINTON, De Witt	1795-1811	7
CLINTON, George (1739-1812)	1777-1785	20
CRÈVECOEUR, Michel-Guillaume- Jean de	1784-1793	5
DE ZENG, Frederick Augustus	1789-1810	14
DUANE, James	1777-1793	22
DUER, William	1777-1795	133
DU PONCEAU, Peter Stephen	1782-1811	22
ELLCOTT, Andrew	1803-1805	3
FRANKLIN, Benjamin	1782-1783	5

Wayne Andrews

FULTON, Robert	1808-1815	44
GREENE, Nathanael	1780-1782	2
HAMILTON, Alexander	1777-1804	24
JAY, John	1765-1801	29
JEFFERSON, Thomas	1799-1812	9
KING, Rufus	1801-1804	56
KNOX, Henry	1788	2
LAFAYETTE, Marie-Joseph, Marquis de	1780-1834	37
LE RAY DE CHAUMONT, Jacques- Donatien	1807-1810	4
LEWIS, Francis	1779	2
LEWIS, MORGAN	1782-1833	16
LIVINGSTON, Edward	1789-1835	68
LIVINGSTON, John Henry	1777-1779	4
LIVINGSTON, Henry Brockholst	1790-1805	69
LIVINGSTON, Robert (1688-1775)	1744-1770	5
LIVINGSTON, Robert (1708-1790) 3rd Lord	1777-1790	15
LIVINGSTON, Robert R. (1718-1775)	1744-1775	48
LIVINGSTON, Walter	1770-1797	24 ¹
LIVINGSTON, William	1780-1783	2
MADISON, James	1794-1810	42
MORRIS, Gouverneur	1777-1803	49
MORRIS, Robert	1782-1783	3
MONROE, James	1801-1817	27
PAINE, Thomas	1782-1802	3
PINCKNEY, Charles	1785-1804	14
PINTARD, John	1790-1792	19
PREBLE, Edward	1804	1 ³
RHIND, Charles H.	1819-1828	199 ³
RIDGELEY, Charles Goodwin	1822-1843	14
ROOSEVELT, Nicholas J.	1790-1801	12
SCHUYLER, Philip John	1777-1792	24
STEBEN, Friedrich Wilhelm von	1784-1787	4
STEVENS, John (1749-1838)	1788-1813	43
STILES, Ezra	1792-1794	3
TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD, Charles- Maurice de	1801-1804	14
TROUP, Robert	1790-1811	47
VAN DER KEMP, Francis Adrian	1793-1810	9
WASHINGTON, George	1777-1795	28
WATSON, Elkanah	1808-1810	4

¹ In addition to 8 account books and 15 letter books.

² This letter tells of the burning of the *Philadelphia* by Decatur's men.

³ These letters give a good account of the day-by-day operation of the Hudson River steamboats.



A CORNER OF THE AUDUBON GALLERY AS REINSTALLED

THE AUDUBON GALLERY REINSTALLED

by RICHARD J. KOKE, *Curator of the Museum*

FOR ninety-three years the Society has owned and cherished among its most memorable treasures the collection of original watercolors executed for the fabulous *Birds of America* by John James Audubon (1785–1851)—the half-legendary figure who became the widest-known, best-loved naturalist of America. The proposed purchase of these now-priceless watercolors from Audubon's devoted widow was first broached to the Society in 1861, ten years after the artist's death, as a means of forestalling their sale to the British Museum. No action was taken, however, until 1863 when Lucy Audubon formally offered to sell the collection to the Society for \$4,000: "I prefer," she wrote to one of its officers, "their being where my husband wished they should be." The sum accordingly was raised and the Society thereby acquired 464 drawings, including 432 of the 435 subjects reproduced in *The Birds of America*, together with a number of Folio subjects which were never engraved, and other drawings by Audubon for his *Quadrupeds of North America*.

Though long possessed of the original drawings, the Society for years keenly felt the lack of a copy of the first—or Elephant Folio—edition of *The Birds of America* (London: 1827–38), with its 435 hand-colored plates, of which ten were engraved by William Lizars in Edinburgh and the remaining 425 by Robert Havell in London. Rebuffed in America in his search for a publisher, Audubon had sailed for England in 1826 with his precious drawings, and in the island kingdom he was lionized as a genius and accorded the praise and recognition which thus far had escaped him in America. Once the sovereign, George IV, had subscribed for his books, Audubon's fame was assured.

Yet not until 1954, through the gift of Mrs. Harvey Breit and Mrs. Gratia R. Laiser in memory of their mother, Gratia Houghton Rinehart, was the Society able to acquire the rare Elephant Folio in four volumes and a five-volume set of Audubon's *Orni-*

The Audubon Gallery Reinstalled

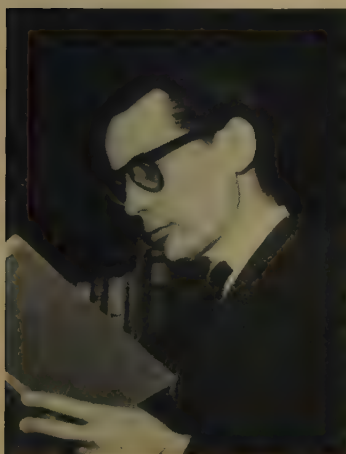
thological Biography describing the plates. The armorial bindings of these beautiful books are stamped with the ducal crest and motto of the Order of the Garter of the Duke of Newcastle, in whose collection they formerly resided. The engraved first edition of *The Birds of America*, which in Audubon's day sold for \$1200 a set, is today worth nearly thirty times that figure and eighty times the price paid by the Society for the originals!

To provide an adequate setting for the display of the large folios in association with a select number of original drawings, the Society's Audubon Gallery had been redesigned with a new alcove and built-in glass case. Thus enlarged and refurbished, the Gallery was reopened in June 1956 with an additional display of two of the four volumes and a reinstallation of other material. We are thereby able to place on view, besides the newly-acquired Elephant Folios, seventeen of Audubon's original drawings; two of Havell's copperplates (for the House Wren and Connecticut Warbler), which we received in 1946 and 1947; and such other Auduboniana as paintings, prints, photographs, manuscripts, and broadsides relating to his life and work, his family and homes.

There are also on display two original portraits sketched by Audubon during his Western period in 1819 and 1820 of Henri de Gallon (1752-1837) and John Cleves Symes (1780-1829); a plaster replica of Audubon's life mask which his engraver-friend Robert Havell took in London *c.* 1830; and one of the original oils painted by his son, John Woodhouse Audubon (1812-1862), for the *Quadrupeds of North America*.

With this summary selection we call renewed attention to the handsome man who was equally at ease in the drawing room and in the wilderness; who was merchant and storekeeper, miller and debtor, taxidermist and tutor, portraitist and dancing master, artist and author, sportsman and scientist, a failure in business but a rousing success in the single-minded pursuit of his most cherished dream. He became a legend even in his own day and gave to the world perhaps the greatest of its ornithological treasures, now among the rarest Americana preserved by the Society.

THE APPOINTMENT OF DR. JAMES J. HESLIN



DR. JAMES J. HESLIN

Assistant Director and Librarian

IT IS with great pleasure that we announce the appointment of Dr. James J. Heslin as Assistant Director and Librarian of the Society. We have not had an Assistant Director since the resignation of Mr. Alexander J. Wall, Jr. on March 15, 1951, or a Librarian since Miss Dorothy C. Barck left us on October 31, 1954. But Dr. Heslin was well worth waiting for. He was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on June 25, 1916, and received his B.S. from Boston College in 1949, an M.A. from Boston University in the same

year, and a Ph.D. in American History from Boston University in 1952, the subject of his thesis being: "New England Civil War Propaganda." During his last two years in the University he was a Teaching Fellow in American History.

Before entering college he served as a Sergeant-Major in the United States Army in the Pacific, 1943-1946. After leaving the university he decided on library work as a profession, secured a Master's in Library Service at Columbia University in 1954 and was in charge of the American History Reading Room at the New York Public Library when he left on March 1, 1955, to become Assistant Librarian of the University of Buffalo, from which post he came to us on May first of this year. Thoroughly trained in American History and library administration, Dr. Heslin comes to us with the added qualities of tact, charm and enthusiasm. We are very fortunate to have him in this important position on our staff.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Bibliography of Father Richard's Press in Detroit. By A. H. GREENLY.
(Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library, 1955. x, 48 pp. 750 copies printed, of which 200 are for sale. \$5.00).

Reviewed by R. W. G. VAIL.

It is most appropriate that the Clements Library of the University of Michigan should have issued this brief but excellent bibliography of the imprints published by the first Vice President and Professor of Intellectual Sciences of the Catholepistemiad which, in 1817, was the very long handle of the little new broom later known as the University of Michigan.

When the pioneer university opened its doors its President was a Presbyterian minister and its Vice President, strangely enough, was a fifty year old Sulpician priest, Father Gabriel Richard (1767-1832). He had come to Baltimore from his native France when he was twenty-five years old, had been sent as a missionary to the French Canadians and Indians on the Illinois frontier and from there to Detroit where he arrived in 1798. He was not only a worthy minister to his flock and an important pioneer teacher but was so highly thought of by Protestants and Catholics alike that he was chosen to represent the Territory of Michigan in Congress from 1823 to 1825.

Since there were no religious or secular textbooks available for use in the schools he had founded, he bought a press, hired a printer and, in 1809, began to reprint in French and English the manuals he needed. His press was continued until 1816 by which time it had turned out the 52 interesting, varied and elusive titles described in this scholarly bibliography. Though not the first press in Detroit (John McCall had printed a few laws and legal forms between 1796 and 1800), Father Richard's press was "the first to produce books of cultural advantage to the community," as we learn from the author's excellent introduction to the present volume.

Though many of these titles were already briefly known to bibliographers, Mr. Greenly recorded one of them for the first time, hitherto unknown variants of two others, and found eleven previously unrecorded copies of these excessive rarities. His descriptions and voluminous notes are based on firsthand examinations and original research and go far beyond the work of any previous student. To some of the volumes Father Richard had added his own introductions and commentaries which are here printed in English translation for the first time.

The present volume records fifteen Catholic religious texts and service books, six secular text books or works of French literature and the first issue of the first newspaper of Michigan. As the good Father became

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more interested in the secular affairs of the Territory, and since there was no other available press, we find his printer turning out twenty-three important Federal or Territorial documents and political pieces, including twenty broadsides, and thirteen blank forms.

Of the fifty-two titles located in twenty-five public and private libraries, twenty-two are unique and of sixteen others only two copies of each have survived. As one might expect, the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library owns the lion's share of these rarities with a total of 80 items, many of which, however, are duplicate blank forms. Dr. Norman E. Clarke of Detroit is second with seventeen titles and other owners include the Detroit Chancery Archives with fifteen, the Clements Library fourteen, Mr. Greenly eight, Mr. Edgar S. Oppenheim of New York four, Mr. J. O. Keene of Birmingham, Michigan, three, the Newberry Library of Chicago and Mr. Thomas W. Streeter two each and sixteen other owners with one each.

Mr. Greenly's bibliography is a model of scholarly arrangement and annotation. It gives lined-off titles, full collations, page measurements and descriptions of original bindings when they have survived. Variants are carefully described and every useful historical note is included. This small, specialized but important bibliography will be used by every student of the history of Detroit, of Michigan Territory and of the Catholic Church in the Old Northwest.

The Clements Library is notable for the beauty of its printing and this little volume is among its best. Its two-color title, deckle edged, warm toned paper, fine composition and presswork and tasteful binding make it a delightful addition to the shelves of any bibliophile and every bibliographer. It was printed in Bembo type on Arches paper by The Stinchhour Press of Lunenburg, Vermont, for The Clements Library Associates and is a great credit to all concerned.

A Merchant Prince of the Nineteenth Century: William E. Dodge. By RICHARD LOWITT. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. 384 pp., index. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by DR. PHILIP L. WHITE, *Dept. of History, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.* Author of *The Beckmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647-1877* (The New-York Historical Society, 1956) and editor of *The Beekman Mercantile Papers* (3 vols.; The Society, 1956).

"What were the activities of a 19th-century New York merchant prince?" In answering his own question by means of a biography of William E. Dodge, Richard Lowitt presents a character and a career almost beyond belief. Let us begin with the career. Son of a merchant who was more interested in the cause of pacifism than in business, Dodge made probably the most important move of his life at the age of 21 (1828) when he married the daughter of Anson G. Phelps, a merchant who had

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acquired a considerable fortune in exporting Southern cotton to Liverpool and importing English tin and other metals. A few years after the two families had been joined in matrimony they were joined in business by the formation of the partnership of Phelps Dodge & Co. Until the 1880s this family partnership, enlarged frequently to accommodate sons or sons-in-law, managed an increasingly complex network of enterprises and investments. Speculations in New York City real estate helped tide the export-import business over the depression of 1837. Brass manufacturing in Connecticut was lucrative; Pennsylvania's Susquehanna valley was denuded of valuable timber; copper mining in the Lake Superior region and railroad enterprises in many areas attracted Phelps-Dodge capital and were operated by boards of directors upon which sat guardians of the Phelps-Dodge interests. In addition to these and lesser business interests Dodge helped to direct as well as to finance innumerable religious activities and even participated in the formation of the American YMCA. He also became a member of Congress, an Indian Commissioner, and a generous benefactor of the Republican party.

The paucity of personal records has made it difficult for Mr. Lowitt to do justice to the character of William E. Dodge, but occasional incidents provide some insight. A dedicated observer of the Sabbath, Dodge resigned from directorships in at least two railroads when he could not force them to suspend operations on Sunday. Despite the piety reflected in this attitude, in his religious activities, and his delight in addressing Sunday School audiences, Dodge bribed Pennsylvania legislators to aid his lumbering business, was deterred from developing a monopoly in metals-importation only by the scruples of his partner, did participate in price-fixing agreements in the brass industry, took a seat in Congress after a disputed election in which his case was so weak that several in his own party in Congress refused to support his claim. It is perhaps significant in this respect that at the next election Dodge was not a candidate and the Democrat whom he had "defeated" was returned to office. As a Congressman (1865-67) Dodge always spoke against the excesses of Radical Reconstruction, but just as regularly voted on the side of the Radicals when the chips were down. Lowitt makes clear, too, that in a later battle with Cornelius ("the public be damned") Vanderbilt over railroad regulation Dodge would almost certainly have been on Vanderbilt's side if he had not previously disposed of most of his railroad holdings. The president of one railroad of which Dodge was a director resigned in protest over what he alleged was Dodge's propensity to influence policy decisions in the interest of other companies in which he had investments. Dodge admitted some impropriety, but the president's charges were apparently exaggerated. Dodge was also involved in a major scandal over evasion of customs duties on Phelps-Dodge imports, but the major malefactors seem to have been some of his erstwhile politi-

cal associates who were using the customs office for shakedowns. Phelps Dodge & Co. were technically guilty and in consequence Dodge paid the Government some \$271,000 of which half went to the customs racketeers among whom were a leading Senator and a future President.

As a businessman Dodge seems to have manifested talents distinctly below the genius level. Lowitt points out that of those enterprises in which Dodge himself exercised close managerial control only the lumber operations were successful. Dodge was, however, a shrewd as well as a lucky investor and his colleagues in the firm included some excellent executives.

Phelps-Dodge's labor policy, as one might expect, was considerably less than enlightened. Wage payments to both lumbermen and miners were chronically behind and there was always strong opposition to wage increases. Those who complained about delay in receiving their pay or attempted to "arouse their fellow workers to action" were promptly discharged. "People seem to be more than ever greedy to get pay for what they do," complained one member of the firm. Dodge himself attacked Mayor ("Honest John") Kelly of New York for paying the exorbitant wage of \$1.50 per day for shoveling snow.

Mr. Lowitt has had many obstacles to overcome in writing this book. It is clear, for example, that he never became very fond of William E. Dodge. Furthermore not only were personal materials scanty but even business records were spotty and frequently concerned more with the activities of other members of the firm. In conjunction with the varied nature of Dodge's activities this has made construction of coherent narrative extremely difficult. Nevertheless the study well reflects the spirit as well as the varied interests of the 19th-century New York merchant prince and presents a good description of the cotton-export, metal-import business in the antebellum period.

The Loyalists of New Brunswick. By ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT. (Fredericton, New Brunswick; 1955. 365 pages. \$4.50.) [Inquiries to 407 Island Park Drive, Ottawa 3, Canada.]

Reviewed by RICHARD J. KOKE, *Curator of the Museum.*

The foundations of modern Canada were in great measure laid by Loyalists who fled from the Thirteen Colonies at the conclusion of the War for American Independence. The resettlement of refugees always poses difficult problems. This volume is an admirable treatise on those who migrated to New Brunswick in Canada when the Revolutionary War was nearing its end. Originally starting her investigation into the story of a Loyalist ancestor, the author, a native New Brunswicker, happily broadened her scope of interest to include all the Loyalists in the Province north of the Bay of Fundy—who they were, why and how they came, and what happened to them. In searching out the answers to

these questions. Dr. Wright has thrown new light on the exodus of thousands of refugees who shipped from the port of New York.

She treats on the coming of the Loyalists, the mustering out of their regiments, the problems of relocation, the apportioning and settlement of land, and the personalities of the men who sought a new life in Canada. Due to the fact that detailed studies are not available on the Loyalists in other Provinces of British North America, comparisons could not be made, but the New Brunswick phase is exhaustively treated, and the author has corrected many misconceptions presented by previous writers as to the occupations and character of the settlers. The Loyalists who went to England may have been chiefly of the governing, wealthy, professional, and clerical classes, and Halifax, too, may have attracted others, but contrary to a popular belief that most of the New Brunswick Loyalists were college graduates belonging to the best Massachusetts families, the author, after analysis of their origins and occupations, brings out the significant fact that Massachusetts people did not predominate in the Province, and the number of college graduates was insignificant in comparison with the humble folk engaged in trade or agriculture.

The author's analysis indicates that 90% of the Loyalists who emigrated to New Brunswick were American-born, of which at least 40% came from New York—chiefly from Long Island, Staten Island, Westchester, and Dutchess Counties; 22% came from New Jersey; 12% from Connecticut; and the remainder, in small ratios, from the ten other colonies. Of special value is a comprehensive compilation of 6,000 names of New Brunswick Loyalists gleaned by patient research from lists and claims, giving their former homes, their service—if any—during the war, their New Brunswick grants, and their places of residence. This list, alone, makes this volume a work of prime importance. She has determined the former residences of about half of these Loyalists—a praiseworthy feat, in itself, due to the obscure origins of so many of them. This well-documented account is a scholarly contribution to the history of British North America. Canadian and American students of the Revolution may possibly not agree with all the findings, but they will be unable to ignore them.

Benjamin Henry Latrobe. By TALBOT HAMLIN. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. xxxvi + 633 pages, biblio., index, 96 halftone cuts on 40 plate-pages, 36 text line-cuts, color-plate frontis. \$15.00.)

Reviewed by THEODORE BOLTON, *Librarian of The Century Association and historian of American art.*

In his Foreword Mr. Hamlin writes: "Of the importance of Benjamin Henry Latrobe to the future architecture of the United States my study of Greek Revival architecture in America [Oxford University Press, 1944] made me constantly aware." This awareness led Mr. Hamlin to undertake the present intensive investigation of all the architect's work

and to present, as well, a detailed account of his life. A meeting with Ferdinand Claiborne Latrobe II resulted in the latter's placing his abundant, well-arranged collection of papers by or relating to his distinguished great-grandfather entirely at Mr. Hamlin's disposal, including the architect's letter-books, journals, drawings, and sketch books. "At first," Mr. Hamlin continues, "my interest had been in Benjamin Henry Latrobe as an architect, but as I studied the material and talked further with Ferdinand, I became more and more aware of the tragedy of his life." As a result, Mr. Hamlin has written an extensive and very readable narrative presenting the architect's achievements in the light of his activities and against the background of his times.

Among the more familiar of Latrobe's surviving works are his additions to the United States Capitol before and after the War of 1812, including the House of Representatives; the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Baltimore, dedicated in 1821, following the seventh design submitted by Latrobe in 1808; and "Old West" at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, designed in 1803. Also, as Mr. Hamlin writes, "It is remarkable that the atmosphere of perhaps the country's most important public square [Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.] comes, at least in part, from three works linked with Latrobe,—St. John's Church [built in 1816], the Decatur House [planned in 1817], and the front colonnade of the White House which was carried out by Hoban in 1824 on the basis of the design projected by Latrobe as early as 1808."

That these structures impress one as reflecting the English Classic Revival style is not surprising, for Benjamin Henry Latrobe was born at Fulneck, England, on May 1, 1764, and was trained in London. But very little English blood flowed in his veins. His father, a Moravian minister, was the grandson of a French count who had settled in Dublin and became Protestant Irish. His mother, also of the Moravian faith, was the granddaughter of a German baron who became Pennsylvania Dutch. His education was as varied as his inheritance. Sent to Germany in 1776, where he remained until 1784, he certainly attended a Moravian school there, but his son's (John H. B. Latrobe's) assertion that he went to the University of Leipzig and became a cornet in the army of Frederick the Great cannot be corroborated. Returning to England in the summer of 1784, he began his architectural training in London where he worked for two or three years under John Smeaton and then under S. P. Cockerell, before opening his own office in 1791.

When his wife of two years died in 1793, Latrobe decided to settle in America and embarked from England in November 1795. Within two years after his landing at Norfolk, Virginia, in mid-March 1796, he had designed several dwellings, planned and supervised the construction of a penitentiary for the city of Richmond, and submitted a project for fortifications to replace those destroyed at Norfolk during the Revolution.

This last work, though never carried out, was the forerunner of a series of commissions from the Federal Government which were to occupy him, except for two brief periods, from 1802 until the end of his life.

Armed with letters of introduction, Latrobe visited Philadelphia in April 1798 in the futile hope of becoming the architect for a new Quaker school. Disappointed, he returned to Richmond, but not before he had submitted a sketch for a proposed bank building. Within the year word reached him that his sketch had been approved and he accordingly returned to Philadelphia. The structure was the Bank of Pennsylvania, one of the monuments in the history of American architecture. Mr. Hamlin comments: "It was the country's first Greek Revival structure, and also the first building in which masonry vaults were used integrally as a major means for achieving architectural effect." Constructed during 1798-1800, the bank was demolished in 1865. During its construction Latrobe, as engineer for the city "watering committee," designed his famous pump-house for the Philadelphia water-works, built during 1799-1801. The Bank of Pennsylvania established Latrobe's reputation as an architect; the pump-house, his reputation as an engineer. Now famous and busily employed, he married, in 1800, the daughter of Isaac Hazelhurst.

Meanwhile, having come under the influence of the English Gothic Revival, Latrobe introduced the style into America through his design for William Crammond's country house "Sedgeley," built in 1799; this Mr. Hamlin calls "the first American example of the Gothic Revival in house design." Another Gothic-style structure by Latrobe is the delightful little Christ Church on G Street S. E., Washington, constructed in 1808 during the architect's short residence in that city and still standing. During the same period he produced the Gothic design of the Bank of Philadelphia, constructed in 1807-1809 and demolished in 1832.

Not only in the buildings that he designed, but also in the talented men he trained, Latrobe influenced "the future architecture of the United States." In his office he trained as an engineer Frederick Graff (1794-1847) who became the designer of the water-works in Fairmont Park. Another assistant was William Strickland (1788-1854) of New Jersey, who entered Latrobe's office in August 1801 and ended his career as architect of the State House, Nashville, Tennessee. Still another assistant was Robert Mills (1781-1855) of South Carolina, who worked in Latrobe's office from 1803 to 1809, leaving to work independently on the new wings for "Independence Hall."

In addition to his comprehensive discussions of Latrobe's architectural achievements, Mr. Hamlin paints a lively and revealing picture of the man's character, as he does also of several of his associates, often through the telling use of colorful excerpts from contemporary papers. Latrobe is revealed as a many-sided genius: an architect, an engineer, an

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artist, an accomplished amateur musician who contributed the article on acoustics to the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, and a gifted writer. His personal integrity, his moral courage, his sense of humor, his self-criticism, his liberality in promoting the interests of young competitors, his professional pride—all are evidenced and illustrated by such well-documented anecdotes and pertinent quotations from his letters as: the story of his successful slander suit against William Thornton who had given vent in print to his resentment of Latrobe's insistence upon recognition for the professional architect as against the untrained amateur; Latrobe's account in a letter to his wife of a Jeffersonian dinner party where the President had regaled his guests with an amusing story about Franklin's son; an apology to his assistant, Louis DeMun, for too brusque a reproof of the latter's tardiness in making a progress report; a generous recommendation to the Secretary of War for William Strickland (after the young man had deliberately absented himself from Latrobe's service during construction of the national Capitol) as "an excellent draughtsman, perhaps the best of those I have educated." It is by such details that Mr. Hamlin brings the characters in his biography to life so that the narrative reads from beginning to end like an engrossing novel about a man whose work takes a prominent position in the history of American architecture.

Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania. By KENNETH SCOTT. [*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 132.] (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1955. [xi] + 168 pages, illus., indexes. Paper cover, \$4.00.)

Reviewed by H. CLAY REED, *Professor of History, University of Delaware.*

This volume is similar in plan and procedure to the author's monograph on *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York*, reviewed in the October, 1953, number of the *Quarterly*. The present work is a detailed year-by-year account of all the Pennsylvania counterfeiting cases which he found in the contemporary records. Newspapers and unpublished court records were the most fruitful sources of information.

The "Three Lower Counties" (now the state of Delaware) are also included, and the author might well have added the words *and Delaware* to the title of his book. Counterfeiters seldom limited their activities to one colony. Professor Scott crosses colonial boundaries too in pursuit of his quarry with the result that this volume on Pennsylvania contains considerable incidental material on New York (from his earlier study), Connecticut, and Maryland, and a great deal on New Jersey, including a whole chapter on Samuel Ford's "Morristown gang."

The lure of easy money was irresistible to colonial Americans in almost every walk of life. Even the Quakers in 1750 were distressed to find one

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of their members engaged in the counterfeiting business. It was especially attractive to metal workers such as silversmiths and blacksmiths and to printers and engravers. Ship captains and sailors found it easy to make contacts with such people in Ireland and England, who speedily imitated the genuine emissions of Pennsylvania and other colonies for export to America. Peter Long of Philadelphia was reported to have passed nearly £6,000 of English-made colonial bills of credit before the law caught up with him. To the same end German "newlanders" enlisted the aid of printers and engravers in Germany and Holland. On this side of the Atlantic some tried their hands at casting base metal dollars or doubloons in sand, while others altered genuine paper currency by pasting a "ten" over the "one" in a one-shilling bill, or a "pounds" over the "shillings" in a three-shilling bill.

Professor Scott has done a thorough job of research for both of these monographs, and it is unlikely that anything material can be added to his chronicle of counterfeiting in colonial Pennsylvania and New York, except through intensive local studies. However, the European collaborators remain for the most part unidentified. It would be interesting to learn more about them.

Americans Interpret Their Civil War. By THOMAS J. PRESSLY. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. xvi + 347 pages, biblio. append., index. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by PHILIP L. WHITE, *History Department, University of Texas.*

Some of Mr. Pressly's senior colleagues have chided him severely in effect for having had the effrontery to write such an absorbing book upon so difficult a subject at so young an age. What Mr. Pressly has attempted is to analyze all the interpretations of the causes of the Civil War which have been set forth by American authors from 1861 to the present. That this literature is voluminous no literate American need be reminded; that it includes strikingly dissimilar interpretations was dramatized some years ago by Howard K. Beale's memorable article, "What the Historians Have Said About the Causes of the Civil War" (*Social Science Research Bulletin* 54; reprinted in Donald Sheehan, *The Making of American History*). That Mr. Pressly's book is so absorbing is attributable perhaps more to the inherent interest of the subject than to Mr. Pressly's own contribution, although he has studied thoroughly, written clearly, and on the whole has analyzed objectively and well.

What has he found? Mr. Pressly observes that contemporary authors, chiefly professional writers and politicians capitalizing on the eager market, tended to be devotees of the conspiracy or devil thesis; imbued with patriotic fervor, they found error and evil on one side, truth and virtue on the other. Northerners found basely motivated politicians or pro-slavery fanatics leading the South into an evil "rebellion" against their

beloved Union; Southerners labeled the contest a "War between the States" for which they blamed the intransigence of abolitionists or the ambition of unscrupulous political leaders who led the North in unwarranted aggression to prevent constitutionally authorized secession. A few neutrals charged scheming leaders of their own section (but of different political persuasion) with having fomented a "needless war." In fact every one of the causes to be emphasized by later historians found expression by at least one contemporary.

By the 1880s nationalist historians, many with professional training, had begun to write much more objectively of an "irrepressible conflict" caused by complex socio-economic forces for which no individual could be blamed. The economic and social isolation of the unchanging Southern culture was contrasted with the increasingly close linkage of the dynamic and progressive Northeast and Middlewest. Schouler, Burgess, Rhodes, Woodrow Wilson (Pressly considers him underrated as an historian), Turner, Channing, McMaster and, more recently, Arthur C. Cole tended to agree that Southern socio-economic interests were fundamentally incompatible with those of the rest of the country and that from this incompatibility arose what was now referred to, not as a "rebellion," but as a "War for Southern Independence" or a "Civil War." That the latter designation for the contest is now universally employed reflects to some degree the continuing popularity of the nationalist interpretation.

The nationalist school, despite its continuing popularity, has had several competitors. Social reformers, preëminently Charles A. Beard, carried over into their analyses of the War a profound bias against the conservative business leadership which the Civil War fastened upon the country. In combination with a predilection for economic themes, this bias led them to play down the importance of the slavery question and to appear quite sympathetic to the agrarian South. Marxists forced resisting facts into their peculiar mold which stamped the War as a contest between capitalism and agrarianism, a necessary preliminary to the main bout between capital and labor. Decidedly abolitionist, the Marxists also tended to glorify the role of Negroes and laborers in winning the War.

The twentieth century has witnessed also a "New Vindication" of the South, the product of professional historians with Southern background and increasingly with Southern training. U. B. Phillips, studying records of Southern planters, found secession justified by the conduct of Northern antislavery zealots in forcing hostile legislation upon the planters; Ramsdell saw slavery as a dying institution which would before long have been eliminated without the War, for which he held Lincoln responsible. Frank L. Owsley defended the agrarian culture of the South in contrast to the aggressive, business-based culture of the North, which he blamed for the conflict.

Influenced in part by pacifism or isolationism, says Mr. Pressly, some writers of the twentieth century considered the War a "repressible" conflict, a needless war. Gilbert Barnes criticized the irresponsible attitude of leading abolitionists. Randall, Craven, Nichols, Stampp criticized those leaders who had helped to defeat compromise and attempted to rehabilitate such figures as Buchanan and Douglas.

In the period since World War II, Allan Nevins has become the focal point for arguments on the causation of the War. His multi-volume history of the period (not yet complete) shows a propensity to blame American society, as do the "needless war" writers, for failing to solve the slavery problem without war, yet he is much more sympathetic to Lincoln who opposed compromise than to Douglas who favored it. He thinks Southerners should have been willing to accept reasonable arrangements for ending slavery and that Northerners should have been willing to share the cost. That this slightly pro-Northern, but definitely conciliatory, position has been attacked by neo-abolitionists as well as neo-secessionists and others helps one to appreciate how nearly impossible it must have been in 1861 to achieve a satisfactory compromise.

Nothing could be clearer than that Mr. Pressly's words will not be the last upon this fascinating subject. Opinions still differ widely; Civil War literature is flowing profusely from the presses and doubtless will continue to do so through the centennial year of 1961. The current controversy over segregation will undoubtedly influence contemporary interpretations of the Civil War as will awareness of the implications of racial factors in the Cold War. Thus, Mr. Pressly's job will certainly have to be done again in another decade. The analyst of the 1960s may differ from Mr. Pressly on points of emphasis and with the advantage of perspective will perhaps improve upon Mr. Pressly's discussion of current writers, but it is difficult to conceive that he could improve much upon Mr. Pressly's handling of the earlier writers.

Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper. By WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954. xiii + 384 pages. Illus., biblio., index. \$4.50.)

The American Collector. Edited by DONALD R. MCNEIL. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1955. 61 pages. \$2.00.)

Reviewed by DAVID H. WALLACE.

To commemorate the centennial of its founding in 1854, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin fittingly chose to pay homage to Lyman Copeland Draper (1815-1891), the man who, more than any other individual, made possible that Society's present distinguished position. *Pioneer's Mission* is, however, more than a mere eulogy. In telling the story of Lyman Draper, William B. Hesseltine has conscientiously sought

to show the whole man. It is a convincing portrait and often a moving one, in spite of the undramatic nature of Draper's life and the tameness of his personality, except when carried out of himself by his almost transfiguring mission. Without losing sight of his very important achievements, Dr. Hesseltine describes with insight and sympathy the great collector's personal weaknesses, his financial difficulties, his neuroses, his unfortunate ventures into politics and spiritualism, and especially the most poignant frustration of all, the paralysis of spirit which settled on the would-be historian whenever he sat down to write his eagerly awaited *Lives of the Pioneers*. Against this drab background the heroic element in Draper's character stands out with almost startling sharpness. Dedicating himself as a young man to the mission of preserving the memory of the Western pioneers, Draper gave everything he had of time, money and energy to this end. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin and its great Draper Collection are the tangible results. That he failed to write the histories he had planned is of little importance, much as it meant to him, for other men have come along who were better able to do it. What Draper did that was of supreme importance was to collect and to stimulate other collectors, including his own Society in Madison. And perhaps the most useful service Dr. Hesseltine has performed in his biography of Lyman Copeland Draper is to call our attention to this early collector's forward-looking approach to the gathering of historical materials, from which modern collectors and historical societies might draw some valuable lessons.

That Draper's advanced ideas have not been entirely forgotten is evident from a slim volume entitled *The American Collector*, also published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in connection with its centennial. An appropriate pendant to the biography of Draper, it contains four brief essays on collecting: Lyman H. Butterfield on "Draper's Predecessors and Contemporaries"; Alice E. Smith on "The Draper Collection"; Roy P. Basler on "The Modern Collector"; and Donald R. McNeil on "The Wisconsin Experiments." Of these, by far the most interesting is Mr. McNeil's, which describes in some detail the Wisconsin Society's recent experiments in systematic collecting. Essentially an expansion of Draper's ideas of what constitutes historical material, this program has so far included State-wide surveys, through questionnaires and field representatives, of manuscript holdings in the fields of politics, business, labor and medicine. Regional depositories have been established throughout the State to preserve manuscripts turned over to the State or local historical societies, while a central card file in Madison provides a key to all material reported in private or public hands. The results of these experiments, as reported by Mr. McNeil, are impressive enough to demand the attention of all active societies.

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